

OLIVER CROMWELL

Lord Protector *of the* Common-Wealth *of* England. Scotland *and* Ireland. &c.

Taken, from an Original picture of S. Cooper in the possession of M. Frankland



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THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL, *Lord-Protector* OF THE Commonwealth OF *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland.*

Impartially collected from the beſt HISTORIANS, *and ſeveral Original* MANUSCRIPTS.

The SIXTH EDITION, with ADDITIONS.

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THE PREFACE.

THE following ſheets contain the hiſtory of a perſon of a very ſingular and uncommon character, who made the greateſt figure during our late troubles, and the latter part of whoſe life was fill'd with a variety of great actions both in war and policy; who, from a private gentleman of no conſiderable fortune, raiſed himſelf to the higheſt pitch of power and grandeur, obtain'd the ſupreme authority and command over three nations, and over-aw'd the moſt powerful Princes and States about us; a man whoſe good fortune in moſt of his great undertakings accompany'd him to the laſt; and who, after a continu'd ſeries of ſucceſſes, dy'd in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, was interr'd among our Kings with a regal pomp, and had his death condol'd by the greateſt Princes and States of *Chriſtendom* in ſolemn embaſſies to his ſon. It being a natural curioſity in men to know the characters of ſuch as have render'd themſelves famous by uncommon exploits, I judg'd a regular and juſt account of the actions, proceedings, and management of this extraordinary Man, could not be unacceptable.

AMONG the many who have hitherto wrote of him, very few have done it with temper; ſome commending, others condemning him; and both out of meaſure: I have therefore in compiling the following LIFE taken care to avoid both extremes; and declining either panegyric or ſatire, have faithfully related matters of fact, and left the reader to judge of them as he ſhall think fit. I have purpoſely avoided all reproachful terms and invidious reflections, which diſcover only the anger and malice of an author, whoſe buſineſs is only to deſcribe plain matters of fact without prejudice or partiality; this I have ſincerely endeavour'd to do, having as freely ſet down thoſe actions of CROMWELL which carry an ill aſpect with them, as I have thoſe which appear with a better face, and are by many of his adverſaries acknowledg'd to be praiſe-worthy. In ſhort, I have neither leſſen'd his bad, nor multiply'd his good deeds, but have had a ſtrict regard to truth, as far as I was by good authorities convinc'd of it.

THE *Lives* that have been hitherto written of this great Man, are manifeſtly faulty in many reſpects. The foreign ones are rather *romances* than *hiſtories*, being fill'd with ſuch intrigues, adventures, and actions, as our *Engliſh* writers ſpeak not one word of. As to thoſe in our own language, they are either ſuch as diſcover the moſt ſervile flattery or bittereſt rancour, or are wrote in an odd ſort of ludicrous ſtile; and all of them are exceedingly defective, wholly omitting ſeveral very remarkable tranſactions and occurrences, and very imperfectly

fectly deſcribing many others. All theſe faults are carefully avoided in the following hiſtory, wherein I have endeavour'd to be as plain and intelligible as poſſible, and to omit no material fact or curious ſtory I could find ſupported by any good authorities. Where our own and foreign writers diſagree in relating the circumſtances of a fact, I have followed the former, ſuppoſing them to be the beſt inform'd; and when any of our own hiſtorians differ, I uſually take notice of ſuch difference, that nothing may be related with a greater appearance of certainty, than in proportion to the real evidence it has to ſupport it. I have perus'd and conſulted the *Lives* above-mention'd, that nothing that is valuable in them might be paſs'd by; tho' I found them ſo very faulty in one reſpect or other, that I uſually choſe to take the ſtories which they have, from ſome other authors of more approved credit, rather than from them: So that this is a work entirely new.

I HAVE been particularly very large upon that nice period, from the concluſion of the civil war to the King's death; and have given as particular and exact an account as poſſible of the differences between the Parliament and Army, of the management between the King and Parliament, and between the King and the Army, of the diſſenſions between the Agitators and ſuperior Officers about treating with the King, and how CROMWELL was induc'd to deſert the King's intereſt, and reconcile himſelf again to the Agitators; all which at laſt brought on the King's death.

As

As to the method I have taken in compoſing the following LIFE, it is divided into three parts, and each part into ſeveral diſtinct chapters. The firſt part contains the actions of this great Man during the life of King CHARLES I. to the death of that unfortunate Monarch: The ſecond deſcribes his actions under the Commonwealth government, from the King's death to the diſſolution of the Long Parliament: And the third gives an account of his management and behaviour in his *Protectorſhip*, from the diſſolution of the ſaid Parliament to his death. To all this, as a concluſion, I have added his character, his magnificent lying in ſtate, and pompous funeral; as alſo an *Appendix*, containing ſome account of his children, and of the ſtate of affairs to the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II. Strict regard has been had to the chronology from one period to another. By this method I have conſulted the Reader's eaſe, as well as his pleaſure and profit in the hiſtory itſelf.

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BRITISH MUSEUM 3 NO 83

THE

THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART I.

Containing an account of his life and actions, to the time of the KING's *death.*

CHAP. I.

Some account of him till the breaking out of the WAR *between the* KING *and* PARLIAMENT.

OLIVER CROMWELL was born at *Huntingdon*, *April* 25, 1599. His father was Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, ſecond ſon of Sir *Henry Cromwell*, and brother of Sir *Oliver*, who at his houſe at *Hinchinbrook*, made the nobleſt entertainment for king *James* I. at his acceſſion to the *Engliſh* crown, that had ever been offer'd by a private ſubject. Sir *Oliver* had a very great eſtate; but our *Oliver*'s father being a younger brother, had not above 300 *l. per annum*. His birth and deſcent.

THE name of this family was not originally *Cromwell*, but *Williams*. *Morgan Williams*, ſon

and heir of *William*, of a very ancient family in *Wales*, married the ſiſter of the famous *Thomas* lord *Cromwell*, who was made earl of *Eſſex* by king *Henry* VIII. By her he had a ſon named *Richard*, who when he grew up was knighted by king *Henry*, and took the name of his uncle *Cromwell*, tho' he kept the arms of *Williams*. He married *Frances*, daughter and coheir of Sir *Thomas Murſyn*; and upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries, obtain'd all thoſe lands in *Huntingdonſhire*, which belong'd to any of them in that county, which amounted to a prodigious value: And this was the firſt ſettling of this family in that county. Of this Sir *Richard Cromwell*, we have the following account: On the 1ſt of *May*, 1540, there was held a ſolemn triumph at *Weſtminſter* before king *Henry* VIII. by Sir *John Dudley*, Sir *Richard Cromwell*, and four other challengers; which was proclaim'd in *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, and *Flanders*: On the ſecond day at tournaments, Sir *Richard Cromwell* overthrew Mr. *Palmer* off his horſe; and on the fifth day at *Barryers*, he likewiſe overthrew Mr. *Cuſpey*, to his and the challengers great honour. He had a ſon, Sir *Henry Cromwell*, (our protector's grandfather) who was knighted by queen *Elizabeth* in the ſixth year of her reign. This Sir *Henry* married *Joan*, daughter and heir of Sir *Ralph Warren*, and made his chief ſeat upon the ruins of a houſe of nuns at *Hinchinbrook*. He was a very worthy gentleman, and was highly honour'd and belov'd both in court and country. He had ſix ſons; *Oliver*, (already mention'd) *Robert*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Philip*, and *Ralph*. The ſecond ſon, Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, who was alſo a gentleman of very good reputation in his country, and was no leſs eſteem'd than any of his anceſtors for perſonal worth, married the daughter of Sir *Richard Steward*, and by her had the famous *Oliver*, the ſubject of the enſuing hiſtory.

THOUGH

His education and manner of life.

THOUGH Mr. *Robert Cromwell* had but a ſmall eſtate, yet he took great care of his ſon's education, ſending him, when grown up, to the univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was a ſtudent in *Sidney* college, though 'twas obſerv'd, that he was not ſo much inclin'd to ſpeculation as to action. Whilſt he was there his father died, upon which he return'd home, and led an extravagant kind of life, addicting himſelf to ſuch follies as young perſons are too apt to fall into; ſo that his mother was adviſ'd to ſend him up to *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the law: But not liking that ſedentary employment, he ſoon return'd again into the country, and followed his former vicious courſes, to the waſting of a great part of his paternal eſtate. At length he became greatly reform'd, and grew mighty ſober and religious; and having an eſtate of four or five hundred pounds *per annum*, left him by Sir *Robert Steward*, his uncle by his mother's ſide, he married *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *James Boucher*.

He falls in with the *Puritans*.

AFTER his reformation, he adher'd for ſome time to the church of *England*, very devoutly attending on the public ſervice; but at length, falling into the hands of ſome *Puritans*, he became a zealous friend to that party; frequently entertaining their miniſters at his houſe. After this time he is ſaid to have been ſo ſcrupulouſly juſt, that having ſome years before won thirty pounds of one Mr. *Calton* at play, he now paid it him back again, telling him that he had got it by indirect and unlawful means, and that it would be a ſin in him to keep it any longer.

1628. Is one of the committee of religion in king *Charles*'s third parliament.

WE hear nothing of his acting in a public capacity till the year 1628, when he was one of the committee of religion in king *Charles*'s third parliament, and gave information to the houſe, that the biſhop of *Wincheſter* countenanced ſome who preached downright popery, and that 'twas by his

means that Dr. *Manwaring* was promoted to a rich living; concluding, *If these be steps to church preferment, what are we shortly to expect?*

1637. His design of removing to *New-England* prevented.

THE power of archbishop *Laud* growing grievous to the *Puritans*, he being very severe in his proceedings against them, many of them began to think of taking refuge in foreign plantations; and such numbers of families actually transported themselves, that the government at length taking umbrage at it, publish'd a proclamation, to restrain the disorderly transporting his majesty's subjects to the plantations in *America*, without a royal licence. Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, together with Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Hasterigg*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and several other gentlemen, were preparing to remove themselves, and were actually embark'd for that purpose; but were prevented by the said proclamation, and the following Order of council, "That the "lord treasurer of *England* should take speedy and "effectual course for the stay of eight ships now "in the river of *Thames* prepared to go for *New-*"*England*, and should likewise give order for the "putting on land all the passengers and provisions "therein intended for the voyage." And thus Mr. *Cromwell*'s voyage to *New-England* was prevented.

1638. He opposes the draining of the fens.

ABOUT the year 1638, the king and some lords became undertakers for draining the fen-lands in *Lincolnshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*. This project was oppos'd by several, chiefly by the town of *Cambridge*; and Mr. *Oliver Cromwell* boldly headed this party against the undertakers for draining the fens. By this means, and by promising his farther assistance in their behalf, he got to be elected burgess for the town of *Cambridge* in 1640, to serve in that parliament, which was afterwards called the *Long Parliament*.

1640. Is chosen to serve in the *Long Parliament*.

IN

IN this parliament he ſoon ſhew'd himſelf a zealous and forward oppoſer of grievances in religion; and 'tis ſaid, that one time when Sir *Thomas Chichely* and Mr. *Warwick* were talking with him in the houſe about the affair of religion, he ſaid, *I can tell you, Sirs, what I wou'd not have, tho' I cannot tell what I wou'd.* Concerns himſelf in the grievances of religion.

He was a great promoter of the commons grand *remonſtrance* of all the grievances in the nation from the king's acceſſion to that time, which was preſented to his majeſty at his return from *Scotland*, ſoon after the *Iriſh* rebellion and maſſacre, in which above 150,000 *Proteſtants*, men, women, and children, were barbarouſly murder'd by the *Papiſts*. A day having been appointed for retaking this *remonſtrance* into the conſideration of the houſe, upon its not being call'd for till noon that day, 'twas urg'd and conſented to, that it ſhould be deferr'd till the next morning; upon which occaſion Mr. *Cromwell* ask'd the lord *Falkland*, *Why he was for deferring it, ſince that day wou'd ſoon have determin'd it?* Who anſwer'd, *There would not be time enough, for ſure it would take ſome debate*; to which the other reply'd, *A very ſorry one*, concluding it would be oppoſed but by a few: But the debate being enter'd upon about nine the next morning, continu'd all that day and the night following till three in the morning, when it was carried for the remonſtrance by nine voices only. And when the houſe broke up, the lord *Falkland* ask'd Mr. *Cromwell*, *Whether there had been a debate?* Who anſwer'd, *He would take his Word another time*; and whiſpering him in the ear, ſolemnly aſſur'd him, *That if the remonſtrance had not paſs'd, he would have ſold all he had the next morning, and never have ſeen* England *more*; *and he knew many other honeſt men of the ſame reſolution.* 1641. Promotes the grand remonſtrance.

His diſcourſe with the lord *Falkland* upon it.

THE difference between the king and parliament (occaſioned by evil counſels on one hand, and

1642. The civil war breaks out. continual jealouſies and fears on the other) was now grown to ſuch a height, that ſoon after the preſenting this remonſtrance, it broke out into an open war between them; of which, ſo far as concerns our preſent purpoſe, we ſhall give ſome account in the following chapters.

CHAP. II.

From the breaking out of the civil war, to the battle of Marſton-Moor.

Cromwell made captain of a troop of horſe. AT the breaking out of the war, Mr. *Cromwell* was commiſſioned by the parliament, to be captain of a troop of horſe, which he ſpeedily rais'd in his own country. In liſting them, he had regard to ſuch only as he thought to be ſtout and reſolute; and having compleated his troop, he us'd this art to prove them: Upon their firſt muſter, near ſome of the king's garriſons, he privily plac'd twelve of them in an ambuſcade, who with a trumpet ſounding a charge, made furiouſly towards the body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the enemy, preſently fled for fear, whom *Cromwell* immediately caſhier'd, and mounted their horſes with ſuch as were more bold and couragious.

His ſtratagem to try their courage.

He ſecures *Cambridge*. THE univerſity of *Cambridge* being not far off him, he very ſeaſonably ſecured it for the parliament, when a great quantity of the college-plate was juſt upon the point of being convey'd to the king at *Oxford*. And ſo active and induſtrious was he, that when Sir *Thomas Connesby*, high-ſheriff of *Hertfordſhire*, was going to proclaim the earl of *Eſſex*, the parliament's general, and all his adherents traytors, at St. *Albans*, on a market-day, he ruſhed unawares into the town with a party of horſe, ſurpriz'd the ſheriff and his aſſiſtants, and ſent them priſoners

Takes the high-ſheriff of *Hertfordſhire*.

priſoners to *London*, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of the parliament, who gave him the thanks of the houſe, from this time looking upon him as a very promiſing perſon for their ſervice.

1643. He is made a colonel, and is very active for the parliament.

IN the year 1643, he was advanced to the degree of a colonel, and by his own management rais'd a regiment of a thouſand horſe, with which he rang'd about, and with great induſtry obſtructed many levies for the king in *Cambridgſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; and particularly he defeated the project of a counter-aſſociation for the king's ſervice, contriv'd by Sir *John Pettus*, Sir *Edward Barker*, and other gentlemen, at the town of *Leſtoff* in *Suffolk*, with great ſecreſy and celerity entering the town and ſurprizing them all. Here he alſo gain'd good ſtore of ammunition, ſaddles, piſtols, powder, ſhot, and ſeveral engines of war, ſufficient to have ſerv'd a conſiderable force. And he ſurpriz'd thoſe gentlemen in the very nick of time; for as many more, who were before liſted, deſign'd the very next day to have met at the ſame place, and if their deſign had ſucceeded, the whole country had been in great danger of being loſt. So that this action of *Cromwell*'s was a very ſeaſonable ſervice to the parliament, and prov'd a great diſcouragement to all the king's party both in *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*.

Takes *Hilſden*-houſe.

AFTER this, he was ſent to guard ſome ammunition from *Warwick* to *Glouceſter*, and by the way to took *Hilſden*-houſe, and in it Sir *Alexander Denton*, the owner, colonel *Smith*, many inferior officers, about a hundred horſe, thirteen barrels of powder, and about a hundred and fifty common ſoldiers, beſides forty ſlain; then he gave an alarm to *Oxford*, and ſo went on to *Glouceſter*.

Made lieutenant-general to the earl of *Mancheſter*, and marches towards *Newark*.

HE was now made lieutenant-general to the earl of *Mancheſter*; and having rais'd a greater force of ſuch as came freely in to him, he march'd towards *Lincolnſhire*, with a reſolution to aſſiſt thoſe forces

which lay about *Newark*, one of the ſtrongeſt garriſons then held for the king. In his march thro' *Huntingdonſhire*, he diſarm'd many who were ill affected to the parliament. He was now above two thouſand ſtrong, and receiv'd an addition of horſe from captain *Hotham*. At his firſt approach before *Newark* he perform'd a good piece of ſervice: for captain *Wray* with his *Lincolnſhire* horſe too raſhly quartering near the town, was in the night ſet upon by the garriſon, which made a great ſally, and ſurrounded and took all his men. But the alarm coming to *Cromwell*, he advanc'd and at ten o'clock at night fell upon the *Newarkers*, reſcued captain *Wray*'s troop, and took three of theirs, with the ſlaughter of many of them. After this, ſetting down before the town, he took many men and colours at ſeveral times; and ſoon after meeting with twenty-four troops of the king's horſe and dragoons near *Grantham*, he encounter'd them with ſuch fury and reſolution, that tho' he had but ſeven troops with him, he entirely routed them.

Routs the king's troops near *Grantham*.

THE earl of *Newcaſtle*, being inform'd that the lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* had got poſſeſſion of the town of *Gainsborough* for the parliament, ſent his brother colonel *Cavendiſh*, lieutenant-general of his army, with a great party of horſe and dragoons to ſummon it, himſelf marching after with the foot. Upon this *Cromwell* reſolv'd to attempt the relief of that place, and with twelve troops of horſe and dragoons march'd thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them, but through a gate and up hill; notwithſtanding which diſadvantages, he undauntedly fell upon them, and after ſome diſpute, entirely defeated them, killing many of their officers, and among them, lieutenant-general *Cavendiſh*.

Relieves *Gainsborough*.

Or

OF this action *Cromwell* himſelf gives the following account, in a letter dated *July* 31. "I "march'd after taking of *Burleigh*, to *Grant-* "*ham*, and was join'd by the *Lincolneers* at *North* "*Scales*, ten miles from *Gainſborough*. About a "mile and a half from the town, we met the for- "lorn of the Enemy, who drove a troop of our "dragoons back to their main body. We advanc'd "and came to the bottom of a ſteep hill, which "we could not well get up but by ſome tracts; "and the body of the enemy endeavourd to hin- "der us, but we prevail'd and gain'd the top of it. "This was done by the *Lincolneers*, who had the "van-guard. A great body of the enemy's "horſe faced us there, at about a muſket-ſhot di- "ſtance, and a good reſerve of a full regiment of "horſe behind it. We did what we could to put "our men in good order, and the enemy advanc'd "towards us to prevent it, and take us at a diſad- "vantage; but in ſuch order as we were, we "charged their great body, I having the right "wing. We came up horſe to horſe, where we "diſputed a pretty while with our ſwords and piſ- "tols, all keeping cloſe order, ſo that one could "not break the other. At laſt the enemy ſhrink- "ing a little, our men ſoon perceiv'd it preſſed "in upon them, and routed their whole body, "ſome flying on one ſide, and others on the o- "ther, of the enemy's reſerve. Our men purſu'd "them with good execution about ſix miles. I "perceiving the reſerve ſtill unbroken, kept back "my major *Whalley* from the purſuit, and with "my own troop, and two troops more of my regi- "ment, we got into a body. In this reſerve was "general *Cavendiſh*, who one while faced me, "another while faced four of the *Lincoln* troops, "which were all of ours that engaged the reſerve, "the reſt being in purſuit of thoſe who fled. Ge- "neral *Cavendiſh* charged the *Lincolneers* and "routed

His own account of the defeat of general *Cavendiſh*.

" routed them. Immediately I fell on his rear " with my three troops, which did ſo aſtoniſh " him, that he gave over the chaſe, and would " have deliver'd himſelf from me; but I preſſing " on, forced him down a hill, and below it drove " the general and ſome of his ſoldiers into a quag- " mire, where my captain-lieutenant ſlew him with " a thruſt under his ſhort ribs. The reſt of the " body was wholly routed, not one man ſtaying " on the place."

HERE *Whitelock* ſays, " This was the begin- " ning of his (viz. *Cromwell*'s) great fortunes, and " now he began to appear to the world. He had a " brave regiment of horſe of his countrymen, moſt " of them freeholders, and freeholders ſons, who " upon matter of conſcience engag'd in this quar- " rel under *Cromwell*. And thus being well arm'd " within, by the ſatisfaction of their own conſci- " ences, and without, by good iron arms, they " would as one man, ſtand firmly, and charge " deſperately." *Cromwell*'s policy was very much ſeen in making choice of ſuch men as theſe, who had a perſuaſion they were engag'd in the cauſe of God, to ſerve under him againſt the king's party.

THUS was *Gainſborough* reliev'd; but the victors had but a ſhort time of rejoicing, for within two or three hours, the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the reſt of *Newcaſtle*'s army, march'd againſt them; whereupon they retreated to *Lincoln* that night in good order, and without any loſs, facing the enemy with three troops at a time, whilſt they drew off the reſt. *Lincoln* not being defenſible, *Cromwell* march'd the next day to *Boſton*, to join the earl of *Mancheſter*, who with his new rais'd forces had very ſeaſonably reduc'd *Lynn* under the power of the parliament.

Marches to *Boſton*.

1644. To prevent any farther addition to *Mancheſter*'s forces, the earl of *Newcaſtle* advanc'd with his army, and detatch'd a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons

goons towards *Boſton*, appearing by their Standards, to be eighty ſeven troops, commanded by Sir *John Henderſon* an old ſoldier, who underſtanding that *Cromwell* was drawn out towards him with the horſe and dragoons, made haſte to engage him, before the earl of *Mancheſter*, with the foot, could march up; as accordingly it happen'd at a place call'd *Windſby-field*, near *Horn-caſtle*. In the firſt ſhock *Cromwell*'s horſe was killed and fell upon him, and as he roſe, he was again knock'd down by the gentleman that charged him, ſuppos'd to be Sir *Ingram Hopton*, though others ſay captain *Portington*, who afterwards plainly told him, *That he aimed at his noſe when he hit his horſe on the head.* He never was in more danger in his life; but with difficulty he got remounted upon a poor horſe in a ſoldier's hand, and charg'd the enemy with great reſolution. The encounter was very ſharp, but laſted not an hour before the royaliſts were entirely routed by *Mancheſter*'s troops, about 1500 of them being kill'd, among whom was the lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and other perſons of quality. Very few were killed on the parliament ſide. The routed forces were purſued by the parlimentarians almoſt as far as *Lincoln*; in which purſuit ſeveral of them were killed and taken priſoners, and many horſes and arms taken. In purſuance of this victory, the earl of *Mancheſter* march'd directly to *Lincoln*, ſat down before it, and ſummon'd it, and afterwards took it by ſtorm, with very inconſiderable loſs.

1644.

Is in great danger near *Horn-caſtle*.

AFTER this, the earl, with his lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, advanced to re-inforce the ſiege of *York*, which was then inveſted by the *Scotch* general *Leven*, and the lord *Fairfax*. Soon after, prince *Rupert* arriving with about eighteen thouſand men, cauſed the beſiegers to raiſe the ſiege; who joining their forces, reſolved to watch his motions, and to fight him if they found occaſion:

Advances to the ſiege of *York*.

But

1644. But a little to refreſh themſelves, and furniſh themſelves with proviſions which they wanted, they march'd towards *Tadcaſter*.

THE prince elevated with ſucceſs, and not thinking it enough to have relieved the city, if he did not defeat the enemy, contrary to the advice of thoſe that were with him, he march'd after them, and finding them at *Marſton-Moor*, forc'd them to a battle; in which the left wing of his army commanded by himſelf, charging the parliament's right, ſo totally routed them, that the three parliament generals, *Leven*, *Fairfax*, and *Mancheſter* quitted the field, and fled towards *Cawood* caſtle. Here the prince purſued his enemies too far, which loſt him the day. The three generals being thus beaten out of the field, the honour of the day fell to *Cromwell*; for the left wing of the parliament's army, commanded by him, engag'd the prince's right, commanded by the earl of *Newcaſtle*, who had gain'd an advantageous piece of ground upon *Marſton-Moor*, and cauſed a battery to be erected upon it, from which captain *Walton*, *Cromwell*'s ſiſter's ſon, was wounded by a ſhot in the knee: Hereupon *Cromwell* order'd two field-pieces to be brought for annoying the enemy, appointed two regiments of foot to guard them; who marching for that end, were ſet upon by the foot of the prince's right wing, that fir'd thick upon them from the ditches. Upon this both ſides ſeconding their foot, were wholly engag'd, who before had only ſtood facing one another. The horſe on each ſide fought with the utmoſt bravery and courage; for having diſcharg'd their piſtols, and flung them at each others heads, they fell to it with their ſwords; but after a very obſtinate diſpute, the victory was obtain'd by *Cromwell*'s brigade, prince *Rupert*'s right wing being totally routed and flying, and the Parliament's horſe purſuing and killing many of them in their flight.

Gains the battle of *Marſton-Moor*.

And

And now the left wing of the prince's army, who had been victors, came back to their former ground, being confident of victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen the right; but before they could put themſelves into any order, they were charg'd and entirely routed by the reſerves of *Cromwell*'s brigade. 1644.

OTHER accounts are given of this battle, but all agree in aſcribing to *Cromwell* the glory of the action. Some ſay he was wounded in the right arm at the firſt charge, and went off to have it dreſſed; and returning to his poſt, found the army in that diſorder as is above related. Any other man, ſays F. *Orleans*, would have run with the ſtream, and followed ſuch examples as he need not bluſh at, to ſeek his ſafety by flight. *Cromwell* rather choſe to ſhow what good ſenſe could do, when ſeconded by valour. He preſently perceiv'd that the conquerors were in as much confuſion as the conquered, thoſe who purſued obſerving no more order than thoſe that fled; but that there were ſome brigades of his army that ſtood firm, and had not yet been engaged. He made no ſcruple to put himſelf at their head, and charging with theſe freſh troops, whom his own proweſs inſpired with new courage, he ſo vigorouſly attack'd the enemy, whom victory had made careleſs of keeping their ranks, that this unexpected turn chang'd the ſcene at once, and entirely broke them.

OF the king's forces above four thouſand were ſlain and fifteen hundred taken priſoners; among whom were Sir *Charles Lucas*, major-general *Porter*, major-general *Tilyard*, with about a hundred officers more. All the artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage, fell alſo into the parliamentarians hands; the prince's own ſtandard, with the arms of the *Palatinate*, was likewiſe taken, with many others both of horſe and foot. Of the parliamentarians

not

1644. not above three hundred were ſlain. This famous battle was fought on the ſecond day of *July*. *Cromwell* was greatly cried up for his bravery and conduct, and gain'd the name of *Ironſides* from the impenetrable ſtrength of his troops, which could by no means be broken or divided. Prince *Rupert* and his confederates being thus defeated, they quarrel'd among themſelves, one reproaching the other for this miſcariage; whereupon the earl of *Newcaſtle*, and others of quality, departed out of the kingdom. The ſiege of *York* was now renew'd, which city deſpairing of freſh ſuccuors, was ſoon ſurrender'd to the parliament by Sir *Thomas Glemham*, who had been left ſole governor of it.

CHAP. III.

From the batttle of Marſton-Moor *to the battle of* Naſeby.

CROMWELL began now to be very much taken notice of, ſome admiring, and others envying his great ſucceſs, and dreading his aſpiring temper and enterprizing genius. The lord general *Eſſex* and the *Scotch* commiſſioners were particularly jealous of him, ſo that they were once in conſultation, together with Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Meyrick*, and others, how to get rid of him, and ſent to ſerjeant *Maynard* and *Whitelock* about it; who being come, the earl of *Eſſex* told them, that he had ſent for them to have their advice and counſel upon a matter of great importance to both kingdoms; whereupon, at his deſire, the chancellor of *Scotland* ſpake to them, in the *Scotch* dialect, as follows:

Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Scotch* Commiſſioners jealous of *Cromwell*.

Chancellor *Lowden*'s ſpeech againſt him.

Mr. Maynard *and Mr.* Whitelock, *I can aſſure you of the great opinion, both my brethren and ſelf have of your worth and abilities, elſe we ſhould not*

have

have desir'd this meeting with you: And since it is his excellency's pleasure, that I should acquaint you with the matter upon whilk your counsel is desir'd, I shall obey his command, and briefly recite the business to you. 1644.

You ken vary weel, that lieutenant-general Cromwell *is no friend of ours; and since the advance of our army into* England, *he has used all under-hand and cunning means to tak off from our honour, and merit of this kingdom, an evil requital of our hazards and services; but so it is, and we are nevertheless fully satisfy'd of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of the nation in general.*

It is thought requisite for us, and for carrying on the cause of the twa kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora be removed out of the way, whom we foresee will be no small impediment to us in the gude design we have undertaken.

He not only is no friend to us and the government of our church, but he is also no well-willer to his excellency, whom you and we have all cause to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on this way, it may, I fear endanger the whole business; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken for prevention of this mischief.

You ken vary weele the accord betwixt the twa nations, and the union by the Solemn-League *and* Covenant; *and if any be an* incendiary *between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded against. Now the matter is, wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of the word* incendiary *to be, and whether the lieutenant-general be not sick an* incendiary, *as is meant thereby; and whilk way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved sick an* incendiary, *that we may clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause.*

Now you may ken, that by our law in Scotland, *we clepe him an* incendiary *wha kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state, to*

the

1644. *the publick damage; and he is* tanquam publicus hostis patriæ. *Whether your law be the same or not, you ken best, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we desire your judgments in these points.*

To this Mr. *Whitelock* answer'd, "that the sense "of the word *incendiary*, was the same here as "in *Scotland*; but whether lieutenant-general "*Cromwell* be such an incendiary must be prov'd, "either by his words or actions: That he look'd "upon him to be a gentleman of quick and subtile "parts, and who had a great interest in both houses "of parliament, and that it would be needful to "collect such particular passages concerning him, "as might be sufficient to prove him an incendiary, "before they could expect the parliament should "proceed against him." Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and some others, gave an account of some particular passages and words of *Cromwell*'s, and said, that he had not that interest in the parliament as was suppos'd; and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him; but the *Scotch* commissioners were not so ready to join with them in it, and so the lieutenant-general escap'd.

CROMWELL was now also very much dreaded by the king's party. His majesty being at *Oxford*, was willing to have the particular advice of that known statesman archbishop *Williams*; and so wrote to him at *Aberconway* in *Wales* to come to him. The archbishop accordingly waiting on the king, advis'd him by all means to come to an agreement with the parliament; for since the *Scots* were come into *England* in such numerous armies, and the *English* of the parliament's party, in these two last years, had acquir'd a military knowledge, it would in all appearance be impossible for the king long to resist their forces. But above all, he warned him, to have a care of *Cromwell*, declaring him to be the most dangerous enemy the king had; and there-

Archbp. *Williams* warns the king of him.

fore

fore humbly moved, that either he would win him over to his ſide by promiſes of fair treatment, or catch him by ſome ſtratagem, and cut him ſhort. This is ſaid to have made ſuch an impreſſion on the king, that he was heard to ſay, *I would ſome would do me the good ſervice to bring* Cromwell *to me alive or dead.* 1644.

ABOUT four months after the fight at *Marſton-moor*, happened the ſecond battle of *Newbury*, where *Cromwell* is ſaid to have endanger'd the king's perſon, had not the earl of *Cleveland* interpos'd, and bore off the purſuit. This battle was the occaſion of an irreconcilable breach between him and the earl of *Mancheſter*. *Cromwell* accus'd the earl of cowardly betraying the parliament, for that he might very eaſily have defeated the king's army; when he drew off his cannon, if he would have ſuffer'd him with his own brigade to have charg'd them in their retreat; but that the earl obſtinately oppos'd all advice and importunity, giving no other reaſon, than *That if he did overthrow the king's army, the king would always have another to keep up the war; but if his army ſhould be overthrown at that nice juncture, they ſhould be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law.* This laſt expreſſion was heinouſly taken by the parliament, as if the earl believ'd the law was againſt them, after they had ſo often declared, that the law was on their ſide. " The earl acknowledg'd, that he had in effect " ſaid, *That they would be treated as traitors if* " *their army was defeated*, when he diſlik'd the " lieutenant-general's advice, in expoſing the " army to an unſeaſonable hazard." And then recriminating upon his adverſary, ſaid, " That at " another time, *Cromwell* freely diſcourſing with " him of the ſtate of the kingdom, and propoſing " an expedient, the earl anſwer'd, that the par- " liament would never approve it; to which *Crom-*

Difference between him and the earl of *Mancheſter.*

1644. " *well* immediately reply'd, *My lord, if you will* " *ſtick firm to honeſt men, you will find an army at* " *your command, that will give the law to king and* " *parliament:* which diſcourſe, he ſaid, made a " great impreſſion upon him; and finding him " a man of very deep deſigns, he was the more " careful to preſerve an army, which he believ'd " ſtill faithful to the parliament." Theſe matters were never thoroughly examin'd, tho' the animoſities encreaſed, and the parties on both ſides openly appeared againſt each other, to the dividing of the city, as well as of the parliament.

A MIGHTY party in the parliament began now to be diſſatisfy'd with their old generals, thinking them too much inclin'd to a peace with the king, and too great favourers of the Presbyterian party. Hereupon they are for having the army new modell'd; and that their old friends might be the more civilly diſmiſs'd from their military poſts, they endeavour to procure an ordinance, for incapacitating all members of parliament for ſuch poſts. *Cromwell* was a great promoter of this deſign, and after ſome had led the way, made a ſpeech in the houſe for that purpoſe, declaring, " That there " were many things upon which he never reflected " before, yet upon re-conſideration, he could not " but own that all was very true; and till there " was a perfect reformation in thoſe particulars re- " commended to them, nothing they took in hand " would proſper: That the parliament had done " wiſely in the beginning of the war, to engage " many of their members in the moſt dangerous " parts of it, that the nation might ſee they de- " ſign'd not to embark others in perils, whilſt " themſelves ſat ſecurely out of gun-ſhot, but " would march with them where the danger moſt " threaten'd; and thoſe honourable perſons, who " had thus expoſed themſelves, had merited ſo " much of their country, that their memories would

His ſpeech in parliament for the ſelf-denying ordinance.

" be

" be held in perpetual veneration; and whatever 1644.
" ſhould be well done after them, would be im-
" puted to their example. But now God had ſo
" bleſſed their army, that there had grown up with
" it many excellent officers, who were fitter for
" much greater charges than they now enjoy'd;
" therefore he deſir'd them not to be terrify'd with
" an imagination, that they ſhould want able men
" to fill the greateſt vacancy: for beſides that it
" was not good to put ſo much truſt in any arm of
" fleſh, as to think ſuch a cauſe as this depended
" upon any one man, he aſſur'd them, that they
" had officers in their army, who were fit to be
" generals in any enterprize in *Chriſtendom*." He added, " He thought nothing ſo neceſſary as to
" vindicate the parliament from partiality towards
" their own members; and proffer'd to lay down
" his own commiſſion in the army, and deſir'd,
" that an ordinance might be prepar'd, to make
" it unlawful for any member of either houſe to
" hold any office in the army, or any place in the
" ſtate;" and ſo concluded with an enlargement upon the vices and corruptions crept into the army, and freely told them, " That till the whole
" army were new modell'd, and brought under
" ſtricter diſcipline, they muſt not expect any re-
" markable ſucceſs in any undertaking." In concluſion, a committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance for the excluſion of all members from the fore-mentioned truſts; which took up much time, and was long debated, but in the end paſs'd, and was called the *ſelf-denying ordinance*.

He joins *Waller*, and writes to the parliament.

SOME time before, *Cromwell* had orders from the houſe to march with all ſpeed into the weſt, to join Sir *William Waller*; which he accordingly did, and being join'd they beat up *Goring*'s quarters, who thereupon fled to *Exeter*. It ſeems there had been ſome behaviour in *Cromwell*'s regiment, that gave offence to the parliament; for he

1644. now ſent a letter to the houſe, informing them, "That ſince his coming to his regiment, their carriage had been *obedient*, *reſpective*, and *valiant*; a good teſtimony whereof they gave in the late defeat of *Long*'s regiment: That they were ſorry for their former mutinous carriage, and deſir'd him to ſend their moſt humble petition to both houſes, *That they might again be received into their favour, and their former offence fully pardon'd; promiſing a valiant teſtimony of their future ſervice:*" which petition was well accepted by the parliament. After this, he march'd to *Cerne* in *Dorſetſhire*, where he was join'd by the colonels *Holborn* and *Popham*. The enemy coming within three miles of them undiſcover'd, *Cromwell* drew into the field there, with deſign to fight them, tho' ſuperior to him in number; which they perceiving, drew off; and *Cromwell* was farther reinforc'd by the regiments of *Norton* and *Cook*, &c.

1645. The army new modell'd.

UPON the paſſing of the *ſelf-denying ordinance*, the army, which had been much diminiſhed by ſickneſs and a late defeat in the weſt, was order'd to be recruited to one and twenty thouſand men, namely, fourteen thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and one thouſand dragoons; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was commiſſion'd general. They who were removed from their commands in the army by this ordinance, were the earl of *Eſſex*, the earl of *Mancheſter*, the earl of *Denbigh*, the earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Waller*, lord *Grey* of *Groby*, major-general *Maſſy*, &c. *Cromwell* was likewiſe to have loſt his command, and came to *Windſor* to take leave of the new general; but ſuch intereſt had been made in the committee of both kingdoms at *Weſtminſter*, or they were ſo ſenſible of his rare talent for war, that they had ſent orders to general *Fairfax* to detach a party of horſe to lie between *Oxford* and *Worceſter*, for intercepting the correſpondence between the king and prince *Rupert*, and particularly

ticularly recommended lieutenant-general *Cromwell* for that ſervice; who went away with a good party of horſe and dragoons, and defeated a brigade of the king's horſe under the earl of *Northampton* and *Goring*, at *Iſlip-bridge*, kill'd ſeveral, and took five hundred horſe, and two hundred priſoners, whereof ſeveral were officers and perſons of quality, as alſo the queen's ſtandard, beſides many other trophies of honour. 1645.

Cromwell's ſucceſs at *Iſlip-bridge.*

HE purſued the routed remnant to *Bletchington-houſe*, where colonel *Windebank* commanded; who being ſummoned by victorious *Cromwell*, and perſuaded by his beautiful young bride and the ladies that came to viſit her, ſurrender'd the place, with all the arms and ammunition; for which he was ſhot to death at *Oxford* by ſentence of a council of war.

He takes *Bletchington-houſe.*

ABOUT the ſame time alſo, *Cromwell* forced Sir *William Vaughan* and lieutenant-colonel *Littleton*, with three hundred and fifty men, into *Bampton-Buſh*, where he took them both, and two hundred of their men priſoners, with their arms, and ſent colonel *Fiennes* after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horſe, three colonels, and forty common ſoldiers priſoners, with their arms. Being afterwards re-inforc'd by about five hundred foot from colonel *Brown*'s garriſon at *Abington*, *Cromwell* attempted the reducing of *Faringdon-houſe*, and ſtorm'd it; but it was ſo gallantly defended by Sir *George Liſle*, that he was forc'd to draw off, having loſt fifty of his men; and in his retreat he was attack'd by a party of lieutenant-*Goring*'s horſe, lately come from the ſiege of *Taunton*, who got from him three colours, and took major *Bethel* priſoner.

His further ſucceſs.

He is repuls'd at *Faringdon houſe.*

IT was now order'd by both houſes, that lieutenant-general *Cromwell* ſhould be diſpens'd with for his perſonal attendance in the houſe, and continue his ſervice and command in the army, for

1645. forty days longer, notwithſtanding the late ordinance. This, ſays *Whitelock*, was much ſpoken againſt by *Eſſex*'s party, as a breach of that ordinance, and a diſcovery of the intention to continue whom they pleas'd, and to remove the others from commands, notwithſtanding their former *ſelf-denying pretences.*

THE lord-general *Fairfax* began his march in order to relieve *Taunton.* But the committee of both kingdoms, underſtanding that prince *Rupert* was advancing towards *Oxford*, order'd him to ſtop his march, and to ſend only a party of about three thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe to *Taunton*, whilſt he, with the reſt of his army, march'd back to join *Cromwell* and *Brown*, that they might attend the king's motions with their united forces. The king being join'd by prince *Rupert*, march'd into *Worceſterſhire*, and deſign'd to relieve *Cheſter*, which had been a great while beſieg'd by the parliament's forces under Sir *William Brereton*; who, when the king was come within twenty miles of *Cheſter*, rais'd the ſiege, and return'd into *Lancaſhire.* Upon this, the king diverted his courſe towards *Leiceſter*, and coming before the place, took it by ſtorm.

Is join'd by *Fairfax.*

IN the mean time the lords and commons agreed with the committee of both kingdoms, that general *Fairfax* ſhould inveſt *Oxford*, that important head-quarter of the king. Accordingly the general brought up his army near *Oxford*, and laid ſiege to it, having his own quarters at *Marſton*, *Cromwell* at *Wileham*, and *Brown* at *Wolvercott.* After fifteen days ſpent without action, the parliament being ſtartled at the loſs of *Leiceſter*, ſent expreſs orders to *Fairfax* to march away with his army; which he accordingly did on the ninth of *June.*

THE king was marching from *Leiceſter* with deſign to relieve *Oxford*; but hearing the ſiege was rais'd, he return'd towards *Northampton*, cauſing great

great terror to the aſſociated parts. *Cromwell*, before the breaking up of the ſiege, had been called from thence to the iſland of *Ely*, to ſupport the aſſociation, and was ſhortly to attend his place in parliament, according to the late ordinance: But upon a reſolution of the council of war, the general wrote to them, deſiring them to diſpenſe with *Cromwell*'s abſence from the houſe, and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the horſe. The parliament being ſenſible of his great uſefulneſs in the field, readily comply'd with this requeſt, and accordingly commiſſion'd him lieutenant-general of horſe to the whole army. Hereupon *Cromwell* being recruited with ſix hundred horſe and dragoons, came out of the aſſociated parts, and join'd with *Fairfax* and his main army at *Gilsborough*. *Whitelock* ſays, he now began to increaſe in the favour of the people, and of the army, and to grow great, even to the envy of many.

1645.

Is made lieutenant-general of the horſe, notwithſtanding the ſelf-denying ordinance.

THE king having tarried a little at *Borough-Hill*, drew off from thence towards *Harborough*, and deſign'd to march to *Pomfret*, thinking if he were follow'd by the parliament's forces, he ſhould fight with greater advantage northward. But *Ireton*, by *Cromwell*'s advice, being ſent out with a flying party of horſe, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quarter'd in *Naſeby* town, and took many priſoners, ſome of prince *Rupert*'s life-guard, and *Longdale*'s brigade; which gave ſuch an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at midnight left his own quarters, and for ſecurity haſten'd to *Harborough*, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince *Rupert*, he ſummon'd a council of war, in which it was reſolv'd (chiefly through the prince's eagerneſs, old commanders being much againſt it) to give the enemy battle; and ſince *Fairfax* had been ſo forward, they would no longer ſtay for him, but ſeek him out. Accordingly being come near *Naſeby*, there they found him;

1645. and both armies being drawn up in *battalia*, fac'd each other. Prince *Rupert* and prince *Maurice* commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the left, and the king himſelf the main body; the earl of *Lindſey* and *Jacob* lord *Aſtley*, the right hand reſerve, and the lord *Bard* and Sir *George Liſle*, the left reſerve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, the left by colonel *Ireton*, the main body by general *Fairfax* and major-general *Skippon*, who fought ſtoutly, tho' ſorely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reſerves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-weſt ſide of *Naſeby*, above a mile broad; which ſpace of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

The battle of *Naſeby*.

ALL things being diſpos'd, on *June* 14, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royaliſts word being *God and queen Mary*, and the others, *God with us*. Prince *Rupert* gave the firſt charge, and engag'd the parliament's left wing with great reſolution. *Ireton* made gallant reſiſtance, but was forced at laſt to give ground, his horſe being ſhot under him, and himſelf run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken priſoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regain'd his liberty. The prince chas'd the enemy almoſt to *Naſeby* town, and in his return ſummon'd the train, and viſited the carriages, where was good plunder; but here, as in the battle of *Marſton-moor*, his long ſtay ſo far from the main body was no ſmall prejudice to the king's army.

And his ſucceſs there.

FOR *Cromwell* in the mean time charg'd furiouſly on the king's left wing, and that with good ſucceſs, forcing them from the body, and proſecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reſerve: After which, joining with *Fairfax*, he charg'd

charg'd the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's, and got poſſeſſion of their ordnance, and thought themſelves ſure of the victory; but being now in confuſion, and having no horſe to ſupport them, they were eaſily overborn by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*. By this time the king was joined by prince *Rupert*, return'd from his fatal ſucceſs; but the horſe could never be brought to rally themſelves again in order, or to charge the enemy: Upon which the lord *Clarendon* ſays, That this difference was obſerv'd all along in the diſcipline of the king's troops, and of thoſe under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, (it having never been remarkable under *Eſſex* or *Waller*, but only under them) That though the king's troops prevail'd in the charge, and routed thoſe they charg'd, they ſeldom rally'd themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond charge again the ſame day; which was the reaſon that they had not an entire victory at *Edge-Hill*; whereas the troops under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, if they prevail'd, or tho' they were beaten and routed, preſently rally'd again, and ſtood in good order, till they received further directions. In fine, with all that the king and prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which ſtood in ſufficient numbers upon the place; ſo that they were forced at laſt to quit the field, leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who purſued them within two miles of *Leiceſter*; and the king finding the purſuit ſo hot, fled from thence to *Aſhby-de-la-zouch*, and then to *Litchfield*, and ſo for a ſafer retreat into *Wales*.

1645.

Good diſcipline of the troops under him and *Fairfax*.

THUS ended the famous battle of *Naſeby*, in which the wonderful ſucceſs of the parliament party was chiefly owing to *Cromwell*'s valour and good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of the army to the other, and broke thro' the enemy's ſquadrons with ſuch rapidity, that nothing either could or durſt ſtop him. 'Tis ſaid, that in this

Victory at *Naſeby* owing to his valour.

1645. this action, a commander of the king's knowing *Cromwell*, advanc'd briſkly from the head of his troops to exchange a ſingle bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encounter'd by him, both ſides forbearing to come in, till their piſtols being diſcharg'd, the cavalier with a flaunting back blow of a broad ſword, chanc'd to cut the ribbon that tied *Cromwell*'s murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now juſt going to repeat his ſtroke, *Cromwell*'s party came and reſcu'd him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his ſaddle, which he haſtily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and ſo bravely fought with it the reſt of the day, which proved ſo very fortunate on his ſide.

The king's cabinet with his letters and papers taken.

THE king's loſs in this battle was irreparable; for beſides that there were ſlain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, moſt of his foot were taken priſoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thouſand arms, and other rich booty; among which was alſo his majeſty's own cabinet, where were repoſited his moſt ſecret papers and letters between him and his queen, which ſhew'd how contrary his counſels with her were to thoſe he declared to the kingdom; for in one of them he declares his intention, *to make peace with the* Iriſh, *and to have forty thouſand of them over into* England *to proſecute the war here*; and in another he complains, That *he could not prevail on his mungrel parliament at* Oxford, *to vote that the two houſes at* Weſtminſter *were not a lawful parliament*; ſo little thanks, as one obſerves, who was no enemy to his majeſty, had theſe noble lords and gentlemen, for expoſing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adverſity; what then might they expect, if he ſhould prevail by conqueſt? In thoſe letters alſo he tells the queen, *That he would not make a peace with the rebels* [the parliament] *without her approbation, nor go one jot from*

Coke.

from the paper ſhe ſent him: That in the treaty at Uxbridge, *he did not poſitively own the parliament, it being otherwiſe to be conſtrued, tho' they were ſo ſimple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, That he did not acknowledge them a parliament.* Theſe and many other papers relating to the publick were printed with obſervations, and kept upon record, by order of the two houſes, who alſo made a publick declaration of them, ſhewing what the nobility and gentry, who follow'd the king, were to expect. 1645.

CHAP. IV.

From the battle of Naſeby *to the concluſion of the firſt civil war.*

THE battle of *Naſeby* was truly a deciding battle; for from this grand period, the king's affairs became deſperate, and his whole party began to moulder away, and moſt ſenſibly to decline every where. The parliament's army had no ſooner gain'd this wonderful advantage, but like a torrent they ſoon overflow'd the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. *Leiceſter* was immediately regain'd without any conſiderable oppoſition. From thence they march'd to the relief of *Taunton*, which being beſieg'd by *Goring*'s army, had made a wonderful reſiſtance under the command of the valiant *Blake*. Upon the approach of the parliament's forces, *Goring* drew off his army towards *Langport*; and being maſter of the ſeveral paſſes on the river, hoped to have declin'd fighting, and ſecured his retreat towards *Bridgewater*: But the others drew down their ordnance with ſuch advantage, that whilſt they did great execution on *Goring*'s army, their foot reſolutely gain'd the paſs, and the horſe advanc'd over; when they ſo bravely engag'd the enemy, that they ſoon put them

1645. them to flight, charging them almoſt to *Bridgewater*. *Cromwell* in this action ſhewed much prudence as well as courage; for he would not ſuffer part of the horſe to purſue the enemy, till they were all come up together; and then himſelf leading them on, perform'd the work with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took almoſt all their foot and ordnance.

Cromwell's conduct in the battle of *Langport*.

Bridgewater taken.

AFTER this victory, 'twas reſolved, in a council of war, to ſtorm the ſtrong garriſon of *Bridgewater*. Accordingly they began the aſſault on the 22d of *July*, and forc'd a ſurrender the very next day. The taking of this place was a very great advantage to the parliament; for thereby a line of garriſons was drawn over the country from the *Severn* to the ſouth coaſts, by *Bridgewater*, *Taunton*, *Lime* and *Langport*; whereby the counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, then wholly at the king's devotion, except *Plymouth*, were in a manner blocked up from all intercourſe with the eaſtern parts.

THE mercileſs rapines and violence practiſed by the royaliſts in the weſtern parts had occaſioned the riſing of a third kind of army, which ſuddenly ſtarting up in divers counties, aſſembled to the number of five or ſix thouſand of the middle ſort of men. Theſe ſoon had the name of *Club-Men*, and were encouraged by ſeveral gentlemen of the country, who entertain'd particular hopes from this inſurrection. The motto of their colours was,

Cromwell ſuppreſſes the club-men.

If you offer to plunder or take our cattle,
Be aſſur'd we will bid you battle.

This army of *Club-Men* for ſome time became very formidable to both parties, each of them endeavouring to gain them over to themſelves. But having for ſome months ſtood upon their own defence, and moleſted both armies, they were at laſt very ſeaſonably ſuppreſs'd and diſpers'd by the parliament forces under

under lieutenant-general *Cromwell*; who, together with *Fairfax*, daily gain'd ground in thoſe parts. 1645.

Aſſiſts at the ſiege of *Briſtol*.

BRISTOL was a place of very great importance, which prince *Rupert*, with about five thouſand horſe and foot, held for the king. It was now therefore thought requiſite to beſiege it for the parliament, and accordingly the army was drawn up towards it. The general being come before it, ſummoned prince *Rupert* to deliver up the town; but upon his refuſal, it was adviſ'd by *Cromwell* and ſome other chief officers to ſtorm part of it: Which accordingly was executed with ſo much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a ſecond aſſault, but immediately ſurrender'd that great and well fortify'd city to the parliament general; whereby the king loſt all his chief magazines and warlike proviſions, and conſequently in a ſhort time *South-Wales* and all the weſt of *England*. Upon this his majeſty wrote a ſharp letter to prince *Rupert*, in which he ſays, *I muſt remember you of yours of the* 12th *of* Auguſt, *whereby you aſſur'd me, That if no mutiny happened, you would keep* Briſtol *for four months; Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny: My concluſion is, to deſire you to ſeek your ſubſiſtance, until it ſhall pleaſe God to determine of my condition, ſome where beyond ſeas; to which end I ſend you herewith a paſs*, &c.

Writes to the parliament.

FAIRFAX and *Cromwell* ſent letters to the parliament, relating the particulars of the ſiege of *Briſtol*, and in *Cromwell*'s there was this paſſage: *It may be thought that ſome praiſes are due to thoſe gallant men, of whoſe valour ſo much mention is made: Their humble ſuit to you, and all that have an intereſt in this bleſſing, is, that in remembrance of God's praiſes, they may be forgotten. It's their joy that they are inſtruments to God's glory, and their country's good: It's their honour that God vouchſafes to uſe them. Sir, they that have been employ'd in*

this

1645. *this ſervice, know, That faith and prayers obtained this city for you.*

BRISTOL being thus reduc'd, *Cromwell* preſently takes with him a brigade of four regiments, and marches to the ſtrong caſtle of the *Devizes*, whoſe natural ſtrength was much improv'd by the ingenuity of its governor, Sir *Charles Lloyd*, who looking upon it to be almoſt impregnable, return'd no other anſwer to *Cromwell*'s firſt ſummons, but *Win it and wear it.* But as if nothing could be a ſufficient defence againſt this victorious commander, whoſe very name began now to ſtrike terror to his enemies, the governor was ſoon brought to terms, and forc'd to deliver up the place to him.

Takes the caſtle of the *Devizes.*

AFTER this, *Cromwell* haſtens to *Wincheſter*, and in his march diſarms and diſperſes the *Hampſhire* club-men thereabouts. Being come before the town, he found it fortify'd; but after a ſhort diſpute, he fir'd the gate, and his men enter'd. This done, he ſummoned the caſtle; which not ſurrendering, he planted ſix guns, and after firing them round, ſent a ſecond ſummons for a treaty, which they alſo refus'd. Upon this he made a breach with two hundred ſhot, and then the governor, the lord *Ogle*, thought fit to beat a parley, which was granted; and colonel *Hammond* and major *Harriſon* for *Cromwell*, agreed upon articles for delivering up the caſtle into the hands of the parliament. Here an inſtance is given of *Cromwell*'s faithfulneſs in his punctual obſervance of articles; for 'tis ſaid, that being inform'd that ſome of his men had been faulty in this reſpect, he caus'd one of them to be hang'd to the terror of others, and ſent the reſt to *Oxford*, that the governour Sir *Thomas Glemham* might puniſh them as he thought fit; who is ſaid with generous acknowledgments to return them to *Cromwell* again.

Reduces *Wincheſter.*

HIS next attempt was upon *Baſing-houſe*, a very ſtrong place. It was the manſion of the marquis of *Wincheſter*,

Storms and takes *Baſing-houſe.*

Wincheſter, a *Papiſt*, ſtanding on a riſing ground, and encompaſs'd with a brick rampart lined with earth, having a deep dry ditch ſurrounding it. Here the marquis ſtood upon his guard, aſſiſted at firſt only with his own family and a hundred muſqueteers from *Oxford*; but recruited afterwards by the king from time to time, as there was occaſion. This garriſon had been often aſſaulted, but in vain; firſt by colonel *Norton* and colonel *Harvey*; next by Sir *William Waller* with ſeven thouſand horſe and foot; who, though many then called him *William the Conqueror*, did little more than increaſe the courage of the beſieged, who made many furious ſallies upon him. Thus the place ſtood for ſome years out-braving all attempts, till the valiant *Cromwell* endeavour'd the reducing of it, which he very ſoon effected; for having ſeen the lord *Ogle*, the late governour of *Wincheſter*, march out according to articles, and ſettled the affairs of that garriſon for the parliament, he the next day march'd for *Baſing*; where being arriv'd, after planting the batteries, and ſettling the ſeveral poſts for a ſtorm, his men fell on with great reſolution. Colonel *Pickering* ſtorm'd the new houſe, and paſſing through, got the gate of the old houſe; whereupon they beat a parley, which the parliament ſoldiers would not regard. In the mean time, colonel *Montague*'s and Sir *Hardreſs Waller*'s regiments recover'd the ſtrongeſt work, and beat the enemy from a whole culverin. Then they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the houſe-wall, before they could enter. Thus was the place reduc'd with very little loſs on the parliament's ſide. Seventy-four of the royaliſts were ſlain, among whom were ſome officers of quality, divers of them *Papiſts*. Two hundred were taken priſoners, among whom was the marquis himſelf, Sir *Robert Peak*, and ſeveral other officers, whom *Cromwell* ſent up to the parliament. They took about

1645.

1645. about ten pieces of ordnance, with a good quantity of ammunition and proviſions, and there was rich pillage for the ſoldiers, of money, jewels, houſhold-ſtuff, *&c.* For theſe important ſervices, the houſe order'd a letter of thanks to be drawn up to the lieutenant-general.

Gains *Langford-houſe.*

THE next place *Cromwell* viſited, was *Langford-houſe* near *Saliſbury*; but Sir *Bartholomew Pell* having had information of what he had done at *Baſing*, and expecting no better ſucceſs, ſubmitted at the firſt ſummons.

Marches towards *Exeter.*

FROM hence he march'd towards the main body of the army, which was then moving towards *Exeter*, with a deſign to lay ſiege to it: Where being arriv'd, he advanc'd farther weſtward towards the enemy, and at *Bovy-Tracy* fought the brigade commanded by the lord *Wentworth*, taking four hundred horſe, and about a hundred foot, priſoners, with ſix ſtandards, one of which was the king's.

Dartmouth taken by ſtorm; and the lord *Hopton* defeated.

THE deſign upon *Exeter* being for the preſent laid aſide, the army under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* appear'd before *Dartmouth*, and took it by ſtorm; which being done, they encounter'd the lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, and gave him an abſolute defeat; and then purſu'd the only remains of a royal army into *Cornwall*, where prince *Charles* had his own regiment, and other *Corniſh* troops, which compos'd a body of about five thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot: But not able to reſiſt the multitudes that the parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he imbarked with ſeveral lords and gentlemen, and found refuge in the iſle of *Scilly*. His troops were left under the command of the lord *Hopton*, who was ſo preſs'd upon by the parliament's forces, that he was obliged to diſband on the 14th of *March*; ſoon after which *Exeter* was ſurrender'd to the parliament. And now lieutenant-general *Cromwell* came up to *London* from the general, to adviſe about the future motion of the army; and taking

taking his place in the parliament, receiv'd the hearty thanks of the houſe for his great and faithful ſervices. 1645.

FAIRFAX and *Cromwell* having thus ſcower'd the weſt, and only *Newark* remaining in the north, the king's affairs were now in a very low and deſperate condition. The royaliſts in *Oxford* had indeed ſtill ſome little hopes from a party commanded by the lord *Aſtley*, which were the only forces in the field for the king; but theſe hopes ſoon vaniſh'd; for being encounter'd by colonel *Morgan* near *Stow on the Would*, he was entirely defeated, himſelf and almoſt all his men being taken priſoners. *Aſtley* was ſo ſenſible of the conſequence of this defeat, that when he was taken, he ſaid to one of the parliament-officers, *You have now done your work and may go to play, unleſs you will fall out among yourſelves.*

Lord *Aſtley* routed and taken priſoner.

THE parliament army, fluſh'd with irreſiſtible ſucceſs, was now marching to beſiege *Oxford*, the king's head quarters and place of his reſidence; who in this extremity reſolv'd to throw himſelf into the hands of the *Scotch* army, then lying before *Newark*. He was adviſed to do this by Monſieur *Montrevil*, the *French* ambaſſador, who was then in the *Scotch* quarters; and the rather encourag'd to it, becauſe the animoſities between the *Engliſh* parliament and the *Scots* were now grown very high, the latter complaining againſt the former, for their delays in ſettling the Presbyterian government of the church according to the *Covenant*; and for with-holding their pay. In purſuance of this reſolution, before the ſiege of *Oxford* could be formed, the king eſcaped from thence on the 27th of *April*. He went away in diſguiſe, accompany'd only by Dr. *Hudſon*, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and riding as a ſervant to the latter, with a cloak-bag behind him. They went to *Henly*, *Brentford*, and *Harrow-on-the-Hill*; thence towards St. *Albans*, making 1646.

King eſcapes from *Oxford* to the *Scotch* army.

1646. making their way to *Harborough*, where they expected Monſieur *Montrevil*; who not being there as he had appointed, the king went to *Stamford*, thence to *Downham*, and ſo to *Southam*; where finding the *French* agent, he ſent to general *Leven*, and was conducted by a troop of horſe to lieutenant-general *Leſly*'s quarters. *Oxford* being cloſe block'd up, ſurrender'd on the 22d of *June*, and the few remaining garriſons ſoon after, *viz. Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, *Pendennis-caſtle*, and *Ragland-caſtle*. The parliament being inform'd of the king's eſcape from *Oxford*, and arrival in the *Scotch* army, were very much ſtartled at it, and ſent an order to their commiſſioners to demand him of them; requiring alſo their army to advance, in order to hinder a conjunction of the king's party with the *Scots*, being very jealous of his making terms with them: But upon their ſurrendering *Newark* to the *Engliſh*, which the king had order'd to be deliver'd up to them, and general *Leven*'s forbidding his forces to have any communication with the king's party, they began to be pretty well ſatisfy'd for the preſent; and ſo the *Scots*, having got the king in their poſſeſſion, march'd with him to *Newcaſtle*, where he receiv'd the parliament's propoſitions for peace; which he not agreeing to, they conſult how to take him out of the hands of the *Scots*, to ſend them out of *England*, and to bring him up into ſafer cuſtody. In order to this, they thought it neceſſary to reckon with the *Scots*, who offer'd to accept of a ſum in groſs, for full diſcharge of their arrears, to be agreed on by commiſſioners. Theſe concluded on four hundred thouſand pounds, one Moiety of which to be paid before their going home, and the other within ſtated terms. The delivering up of the king was a tacit condition of this agreement; and accordingly the *Scots* having received two hundred thouſand pounds, which was ſent down to them, deliver'd the king, after he had been with

Oxford and all other places ſubmit to the parliament.

The king deliver'd up to the *Engliſh* and brought to *Holmby*.

ther

them about nine months, into the hands of the parliament's commiſſioners, who conducted him to *Holmby-houſe* in *Northamptonſhire*. Upon this Mr. *Coke* has theſe reflections: "Thus this prince, who "before had ſhifted the worthy members of par- "liament from one priſon to another, that they "might have no benefit of their *Habeas-Corpus*, "is himſelf ſhifted a priſoner from one place to a- "nother, without any hope of an *Habeas-Corpus*: "He that before, by his abſolute will and pleaſure, "would without any law ſeize his ſubjects goods, "and commit them to priſon, cannot now enjoy "his own eſtate in his own houſe: He that be- "fore arbitrarily rais'd ſhip-money, has not now "one ſhip to command." 1646.

CHAP. V.

From the concluſion of the firſt and long civil war, to the king's ſeizure at Holmby *by the army.*

THE king's party being ſubdu'd by the parliament, who had alſo got him into their hands, and the *Scots* having quietly left the kingdom, and ſo the long civil war between the king and the parliament, which had been maintained at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, being entirely ended, the victors began now to quarrel amongſt themſelves; and the differences and diſſentions in the parliament and army, and chiefly between thoſe two bodies, the civil and military powers, occaſion'd a great deal of uneaſineſs and trouble to the nation. The foundation of all this, as *Ludlow* tells us, were the high conteſts between the Presbyterian and Independent parties, the one not enduring any ſuperior, nor the other any equal. The Presbyterians, ſays he, graſp'd at the whole power, proceeding with equal bitterneſs againſt all other ſects,

Differences ariſe between the parliament and army.

1646. as againſt the epiſcopal party; and finding themſelves ſuperior in both houſes, little doubted of being able to reform the army, and new-model it again; which, without doubt, they would have attempted, had not the death of the earl of *Eſſex*, who deceas'd about this time, prevented them. This party prevail'd very much in the city, ſo that an addreſs was preſented to the parliament from the mayor and common-council, wherein after acknowledging the care of the two houſes in the reformation of the church, *&c.* they deſir'd, that ſuch aſſemblies as were privately held to introduce new ſects, might be ſuppreſs'd, and that thoſe who were diſtinguiſh'd by the name of Independents, might be remov'd from all employments civil and military. *Ludlow* farther tells us, *the party in the houſe that were for betraying the cauſe of their country, became encouragers of ſuch petitioners as came to them from the city of* London, *and other places, for a ſpeedy peace, and to ſuppreſs* ſectaries: *The* army, *both* officers *and* ſoldiers, *were complain'd againſt, as holding erroneous and ſchiſmatical doctrines; and for taking upon them to preach and expound the ſcripture, not being learned nor ordained.* And as *Cromwell* eſpous'd the Independent party, the parliament was particularly jealous of him, and was for taking meaſures to diſmiſs him, and his chief partizans, from their military poſts. *Cromwell* was no leſs jealous of them, and being aware of what they deſign'd, reſolved to be even with them. *Ludlow* tells us, that as he was walking with him one morning in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s garden, he inveigh'd bitterly againſt the parliament, and ſaid familiarly to him, *If thy father were alive, he would let ſome of them hear what they deſerve*; adding farther, *That it was a miſerable thing to ſerve a parliament, to whom let a man be never ſo faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongſt them riſe up and aſperſe him, he ſhall never wipe it off; whereas, when one*

The parliament jealous of *Cromwell* and he of them.

His diſcourſe with *Ludlow* thereupon.

one ſerves under a general, he may do as much ſervice, and yet be free from all blame and envy. 1646.

ACCORDINGLY from this time *Cromwell*, to ſecure himſelf, and prevent the deſigns of the Preſbyterians, made a ſtrong party for military power, for which he had now a fair opportunity offer'd him: For the Presbyterian party in parliament, knowing that the army was moſtly inclin'd to the Independents, were earneſtly deſirous to break it; and the better to facilitate this deſign, under the pretence of leſſening their great charge, they reſolv'd on the disbanding of ſome troops, and tranſporting others for the ſervice of *Ireland*. *Cromwell* having timely notice of this reſolution, he, together with *Ireton*, inſinuated to the ſoldiers, that the parliament intended to disband them without paying them their arrears, or elſe to ſend them into *Ireland* to die of ſickneſs and famine. Upon this, the ſoldiers broke out into reviling language againſt the parliament; and when the orders for disbanding ſome, and tranſporting others, as before mention'd, were ſent down to them, they refus'd to comply with them. The parliament being inform'd of it, were very much offended at this behaviour of the army; but the prudence and moderation of major-general *Skippon*, in reporting the matter to the houſe, much abated the heat of their reſentment, though ſeveral threatning expreſſions came from ſome of them; which occaſion'd *Cromwell*, then in the houſe, to whiſper *Ludlow* in the ear, ſaying, *Theſe men will never leave, till the army pull them out by the ears.*

1647. He promotes the army's jealouſy of the parliament.

THIS ſpirit of oppoſition being rais'd in the army, they began now more profeſſedly to enter into competition with the parliament, and to claim a ſhare with them in ſettling the kingdom; and that they might be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a number of ſuch officers as they approv'd, which was called the general's council of officers,

Agitators and council of officers ſet up by the army.

1647. officers, and was to reſemble the houſe of peers; and three or four out of each regiment, moſt corporals or ſerjeants, were choſen by the common ſoldiers, and called *Agitators*, who were to anſwer to the houſe of commons. Theſe two bodies met ſeverally, and examin'd all the acts and orders of the parliament towards ſettling the kingdom, and reforming, dividing, or disbanding the army; and, after ſome conſultations, they unanimouſly reſolv'd and declar'd, "That they would not be divided or "disbanded, till their full arrears were paid, and "till full proviſion was made for liberty of con- "ſcience; which they ſaid was the ground of the "quarrel, tho' hitherto there was ſo little ſecurity "provided in that point, that there was now a "greater perſecution againſt religious and godly "men, than ever had been in the king's govern- "ment, when the biſhops were their judges." They added, "That they did not look upon them- "ſelves as a band of *Janizaries*, hir'd and enter- "tained only to fight their battles; but that they "had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and "defence of the nation, of which they were a part; "and before they laid down thoſe arms, they wou'd "ſee all thoſe ends well provided for, that the peo- "ple might not hereafter ſuffer thoſe grievances, "with which they had formerly been oppreſs'd."

Their reſolutions.

THREE or four of their own members being ſent to the houſe of commons with this declaration, they with great confidence deliver'd it at the bar. And ſoon after, the ſoldiers drew up a vindication of their proceedings, directing it to their general; wherein they complained of a deſign to disband, and new-model the army; "Which they ſaid, was "a plot contrived by ſome men, who had lately "taſted of ſovereignty, and being rais'd above the "ordinary ſphere of ſervants, would fain become "maſters, and were degenerated into tyrants." For which reaſon they declared, "That they would "neither

" neither be employed for the ſervice of *Ireland*, 1647.
" nor ſuffer themſelves to be disbanded, till their
" deſires were obtained, and the ſubjects rights and
" liberties ſhould be vindicated and ſecur'd." This paper being ſign'd by many inferior officers, the parliament declar'd them enemies to the ſtate, impriſoning ſome of them who talk'd loudeſt: Whereupon they drew up another addreſs to their general, complaining, " How diſdainfully they were uſed
" by the parliament, for whom they had ventur'd
" their lives, and ſpilt their blood; that the pri-
" vileges due to them as ſoldiers. and as ſubjects,
" were taken from them; and when they com-
" plained of the injuries done to them, they were
" abus'd, beaten, and impriſon'd."

Cromwell general in fact, *Fairfax* only in name.

UPON this *Fairfax* (who was indeed a Presbyterian, but was only general in name, *Cromwell* having got the aſcendant over him, and having the ſole influence upon the army, which he manag'd as he pleas'd) was prevail'd upon to write a letter to a member of parliament, who read it to the houſe; wherein he took notice of ſeveral petitions, which were prepar'd in the city of *London*, and other places againſt the army; adding, " That it was look'd
" upon as ſtrange, that the officers of the army
" might not be permitted to petition, when ſo
" many petitions were receiv'd againſt them; and
" that he much doubted, that the army might
" draw to a rendezvous, and think of taking ſome
" other courſe for their own vindication."

THE parliament was exceedingly troubled at theſe proceedings of the army. However, they reſolv'd not to ſubmit to, or be govern'd by thoſe who were their ſervants, and liv'd upon their pay: And therefore, after many ſevere expreſſions againſt the preſumption of ſeveral officers and ſoldiers, they declar'd, " That whoſoever ſhould refuſe, be-
" ing commanded, to engage in the ſervice of *Ire-*
" *land*, ſhould be disbanded." But the army would

1647. by no means recede from the reſolutions they had taken, and falling into a direct and high mutiny, call'd for the arrears due to them, *which they knew where, and how to levy for themſelves*; nor would they be at all pacify'd, till the declaration of the parliament againſt them was raſed out of their journal-book, and a month's pay ſent to them: Nor did this ſatisfy them, but they ſtill gave out, "That "they knew how to make themſelves as conſide- "rable as the parliament, and where to have their "ſervice better eſteem'd and requited." This ſo ſtartled the parliament, that they ſent a committee of the lords and commons, ſome whereof were not at all ungrateful to the army, to treat with a committee of officers, upon the beſt means to be uſed, for compoſing theſe differences. By which method of proceeding the army ſeemed to be put upon a level with the parliament; and this alſo diſpos'd general *Fairfax* to a greater concurrence with the humour of the army, when he ſaw it was ſo much comply'd with, and ſubmitted to by all men.

Declaration of the parliament againſt the army, afterwards raſed out of their journal-book.

A committee of the parliament ſent to treat with a committee of the army.

Cromwell's management with the parliament.

CROMWELL hitherto thought it neceſſary to keep himſelf as fair with the parliament as poſſible; for which purpoſe, having a rare knack at diſſimulation, he would ſeem highly diſpleaſed with the inſolence of the ſoldiers, and being ſtill in the houſe of commons, when any of their addreſſes were preſented, inveigh'd bitterly againſt their preſumption. He alſo propos'd, That the general might be ſent down to the army; who, he ſaid, would ſoon conjure down this mutinous ſpirit: And he was ſo eaſily believ'd, that he himſelf was once or twice ſent to reduce them to order; and having ſtaid two or three days with them, he would again return to the parliament, and make heavy complaints "of the "great licenſe that was got into the army; that, for "his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and "of thoſe who deſir'd that the nation ſhould be a- "gain imbru'd in blood, he was render'd ſo odious

"to

" to them, that they had deſign'd to kill him, if he " had not timely eſcap'd out of their hands." But notwithſtanding this, he was greatly ſuſpected by many, of having under-hand encourag'd the army's proceedings; and the moſt active officers and agitators were believ'd to be his own creatures, who would do nothing without his direction: So that it was privately reſolv'd by the chief members of the houſe of commons, that when he came the next day into the houſe, which he ſeldom fail'd to do, they would ſend him to the *Tower*. 1647.

Their deſign of ſeizing him.

THIS deſign could not be manag'd ſo ſecretly, but *Cromwell* got intelligence of it; and ſo when the houſe the next day expected every minute to ſee him come in, they had notice given them, that he was met out of the town by break of day, with only one ſervant, making what haſte he could towards the army, where he had order'd a rendezvous of ſome regiments of the horſe, and from whence he ſent a letter to the houſe of commons, to acquaint them, " That having the night before receiv'd a " letter from ſome officers of his own regiment, " That the jealouſy the troops had conceiv'd of " him, and of his want of kindneſs towards them, " was much abated, ſo that they believed, if he " would forthwith come down to them, they would " all by his advice be ſoon reclaim'd; upon this he " had made all the haſte he could, and did find, " that the ſoldiers had been abus'd by miſinforma- " tion; and that he hop'd to diſcover the fountain " from whence it ſprung; and in the mean time " deſir'd that the general, and the other officers " of the horſe, or ſuch as remain'd about the town, " might be immediately ſent to their quarters; and " he believed it would be very requiſite, in order " to the ſuppreſſion of the late diſtempers, and for " the prevention of the like for the future, to have " a general rendezvous of the army, of which the " general

Which he eſcapes.

His letter to the parliament.

1647. " general would beſt conſider, when he came " down; which he wiſh'd might be haſten'd."

Sir *Harbotle Grimſton*'s ſtory concerning him.

THIS account of *Cromwell*'s management with the parliament, leads me to inſert here what Sir *Harbotle Grimſton* related to biſhop *Burnet*, concerning him, as we have it in the firſt volume of the biſhop's hiſtory, *p.* 45. During the conteſts between the army and the parliament (for we cannot exactly aſſign the time when this happen'd) two officers brought an account to *Grimſton*, that at a meeting of the officers, it being propos'd to purge the army better, that they might know whom to confide in; *Cromwell* thereupon ſaid, he was ſure of the army, but there was another body that wanted more to be purg'd, namely the houſe of commons, and he believed the army only could do that. *Grimſton* brought the officers to the lobby of the houſe, where they were reſolved to juſtify what they had ſaid; and the commons having then ſomething in debate, he diverted it, ſaying, he had a matter of privilege of the higheſt nature to lay before them, which concern'd the being and freedom of the houſe; and then he accuſed *Cromwell* of a deſign to put a force upon them, and having his witneſſes at the door, requeſted they might be examin'd. Accordingly they were brought to the bar, and juſtify'd all they had related to him, and gave a full account of what had paſs'd at the meetings of the officers; which done they withdrew; when *Cromwell* falling down on his knees, made a ſolemn prayer to God, atteſting his innocence, and his zeal for the intereſt of the houſe. This he did with great vehemence and many tears, and then made ſo long a ſpeech in his own vindication, that he tired the houſe, and wrought ſo much on his party, that what the officers ſaid, was ſo little credited, that if it had been moved, Sir *Harbotle* believed, that both he and they had been ſent to the Tower. *Cromwell* however no ſooner got out of the houſe, but reſolving to truſt himſelf

himſelf no more with them, he haſtened to the army; and a few days after he brought them up, and forc'd a great many from the houſe. 'Twas his opinion, it ſeems, as the biſhop obſerves, with many in thoſe times, that in great occaſions, when ſome were call'd to extraordinary ſervices, they were excuſed from the common rules of morality; which they thought was the caſe of the judges among the *Iſraelites*. 1647.

ANOTHER ſtory related by Mr. *Locke*, in his *Memoirs* relating to the life of Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, firſt earl of *Shaftſbury*, may be likewiſe proper to be here inſerted. He tells us, it happen'd one morning that Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* calling upon Mr. *Hollis* (*viz.* after their reconciliation, which he alſo relates) in his way to the houſe, he found him in a great heat againſt *Cromwell*, ſaying, he was reſolv'd to bring him to puniſhment. Sir *A. A.* ſhew'd him how dangerous ſuch an attempt might be, earneſtly diſſuaded him from it, and told him it would be enough to get rid of him, by ſending him with a command into *Ireland*, which, as things ſtood, he would be glad to accept. But this would not ſatisfy *Hollis*; and ſo when he came to the houſe, he brought the matter to a debate, and it was moved, that *Cromwell*, and thoſe guilty with him, ſhould be puniſhed. *Cromwell* being then in the houſe, no ſooner heard this, but he ſtole out, took horſe, and poſted to the army (which my author ſays, as he remembers, was at *Triploe-Heath*) where he informed them of what the Preſbyterian party was doing in the houſe, and made ſuch uſe of it to them, that they now united together under him, who forthwith led them away to *London*, giving out menaces againſt *Hollis* and his party, who, with *Stapleton* and ſome others, were fain to fly; and thereby the Independant party becoming the ſtronger, they as they call'd it, purged the houſe, and turn'd and Mr. *Locke's*.

1647. turn'd out the Preſbyterians. Soon after *Cromwell* meeting Sir *A. A.* told him, *I am beholden to you for your kindneſs to me; for you, I hear, were for letting me go without puniſhment; but your friend, God be thanked, was not wiſe enough to take your advice.* But to return:

The king taken from *Holmby*, and brought to the army.

THE king was all this while at *Holmby*: But the animoſities between the parliament and army ſtill continuing and increaſing, the agitators feared the parliament would now for their own ſecurity receive him upon any terms, or rather put themſelves under his protection, that they might the better ſubdue the army and reduce them to obedience. Wherefore, being inſtigated thereto by *Cromwell*, they on the 4th of *June* ſent cornet *Joyce*, one of their body, with a party of horſe, to take the king out of the hands of the parliament commiſſioners, and bring him away to the army. Accordingly, *Joyce* about midnight drew up his horſe in order before *Holmby-houſe*, demanding entrance. Colonel *Greaves*, and major-general *Brown*, who being alarm'd, had doubled the guards, enquiring his name and buſineſs, he ſaid his name was *Joyce*, a cornet in colonel *Whalley*'s regiment, and his buſineſs was to ſpeak with the king. Being aſk'd from whom, he ſaid, *From myſelf, my errand is to the king, I muſt and I will ſpeak with him.* *Greaves* and *Brown* commanded their men within to ſtand to their arms; but they ſeeing them to be their fellow-ſoldiers of the ſame army, opened the gates, and ſhook hands with them as old friends. The cornet plac'd his centinels at the commiſſioners chamber-doors, and went himſelf by the back-ſtairs, directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms being much ſurpriz'd, deſired him to lay aſide his arms, and aſſured him, that in the morning he ſhould ſpeak with the king: But he with ſword and piſtol inſiſted to have the door opened, and made ſo much noiſe that it waked his majeſty,

who

who ſent him out word, *That he would not riſe nor ſpeak with him till the morning*; upon which the cornet retir'd in a huff. The king getting up early in the morning, ſent for him, who with great boldneſs told his majeſty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the king deſired the commiſſioners might be call'd; but *Joice* ſaid, *they had nothing to do, but to return back to the parliament.* Being aſk'd for a ſight of his inſtructions, he told his majeſty *he ſhould ſee them preſently*; ſo drawing up his troop in the inner court, *Theſe, Sir,* ſaid he, *are my inſtructions.* The king having took a good view of them, and finding them to be proper men, well mounted and arm'd, told the cornet with a ſmile, *His inſtructions were in fair characters, legible without ſpelling.* *Joyce* then preſſing the king to go along with him, his majeſty refus'd, unleſs the commiſſioners might attend him; to which the cornet reply'd, *He was very indifferent, they might go if they would*: So the king being attended by the commiſſioners of the parliament, went along with *Joyce*, and was that night conducted by him to colonel *Montague*'s houſe at *Hinchingbrook*, and the next night to Sir *John Cutt*'s at *Childerſley* near *Cambridge*. Here *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Skippon*, and many other officers came to wait upon the king, and ſome of them kiſſed his hand. 'Tis ſaid, That *Joyce* being told, that the general was diſpleas'd with him, for taking the king from *Holmby*, he anſwer'd, *That lieutenant-general* Cromwell *had given him orders at* London *to do all that he had done*; and indeed *Fairfax* now reſign'd himſelf entirely to *Cromwell*'s judgment, who led and governed him as he pleaſed. And though he was at firſt diſſatisfy'd with this proceeding of *Joyce*, yet *Cromwell* ſoon appeaſed him, by repreſenting to him, "That nothing could have "been done of greater advantage to the army and "their generals, to the church and ſtate, than "what 1647.

1647. " what *Joyce* had been doing: That the king was " on the point of making an accommodation with " the parliament, who had determin'd to ſend " colonel *Greaves* to fetch him; and if *Joyce* had " not fetch'd him, there wou'd have been an end " of both officers and army, and all the pains they " had taken for the publick good, would not only " have been uſeleſs, but criminal."

CHAP. VI.

From the king's ſeizure at Holmby, *to his departure to the iſle of* Wight.

THE parliament receiv'd the news of the king's ſeizure by the army, with the utmoſt amazement and conſternation: But this was not all; for about this time, the army drew up a charge of high-treaſon againſt eleven members of the houſe of commons, *viz.* Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr *Anthony Nichols*, Mr. *Walter Long*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, Sir *William Waller*, Colonel *Maſſey*, and Sir *John Maynard*; for betraying the cauſe of the parliament, endeavouring to break and deſtroy the army, *&c.* This charge was accompanied with a declaration, ſhewing the reaſon of what they had done, affirming, that they were oblig'd by their duty ſo to do, as they tender'd the preſervation of the publick cauſe, and ſecuring the good people of *England* from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treaſon, being rather to hinder theſe members, who were the chief of the Preſbyterian party, from uſing their influence in the houſe (which was very great) in oppoſition to the proceedings of the army, than the proceeding capitally againſt them, they determined rather voluntarily to withdraw themſelves, than to put the parliament or army to any further

Eleven members impeached by the army.

further trouble, or themſelves to any more hazard. 1647.

As theſe eleven members were the chief of the Preſbyterian party in parliament; ſo at the head of the oppoſite party (who were all call'd Independents, tho' made up of men of different perſuaſions, as well as of real Independents) were lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, colonel *Ludlow*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Vane*, *Henry Marten*, Eſq; Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, lord *Grey* of *Groby*, lord *Monſon*, *Anthony Stapely*, Eſq; *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; *&c.* There was another party in the houſe of commons who declared for neither ſide, as Mr. *Pierpoint*, *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, Eſq; *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *John Crew*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Goodwyn*, Sir *John Hippeſly*, *&c.* Who ſometimes voted with the Preſbyterians, and ſometimes with the Independents, as they thought conduc'd moſt to the ſervice of the ſtate; and generally they went with thoſe who were for *ſatisfaction* and *ſecurity*, till it was known that the death of the king was meant by it.

Cromwell's deſign of reſtoring the king by means of the independents.

CROMWELL's great deſign, was to hinder any conjunction between the king and the Preſbyterians; and having now gotten him into his own hands, he was for endeavouring his reſtoration, by means of the Independents, thinking that thereby liberty of conſcience would be the better ſecured, which the Preſbyterian hierarchy would not ſo well admit of. And indeed the king himſelf began to think that his condition was alter'd for the better, and to look upon the Independent intereſt as more conſiſting with Epiſcopacy than the Preſbyterian, for that it might ſubſiſt under any form, which the other could not do. What encourag'd the king the more, was, that he was much more civilly treated ſince his being in the army, than he was before, whilſt he was the parliament's priſoner at *Holmby*.

1647. *Holmby.* He was now indeed to make his involuntary progreſs according to the motion of the army, and ſo at length was brought to *Hampton-Court*; but he was every where allow'd to appear in ſtate and luſtre, his nobility about him, his chaplains in waiting, and all ſervants permitted to attend in their proper places. The army had alſo ſent an addreſs to him full of proteſtations of duty, beſeeching him, "That he would be content, for "ſome time, to reſide among them, until the affairs "of the kingdom were put into ſuch a poſture, as "he might find all things to his own content "and ſecurity; which they infinitely deſired to "ſee as ſoon as might be, and to that purpoſe "made daily inſtances to the parliament." *Cromwell* indeed thought fit at firſt to be ſomewhat upon the reſerve in this matter, for fear of increaſing the parliament's jealouſy of him. The lord *Clarendon* tells us, That he and *Ireton* had been with his majeſty, without either of them offering to kiſs his hand; that the king uſed all the addreſs he could towards them, to get ſome promiſe from them, as knowing them to have the greateſt influence upon the army; but they were ſo reſerv'd, and ſtood ſo much upon their guard, and ſpoke ſo few words, that nothing could be gather'd from what they ſaid; and they deſired to be excuſed for not ſeeing his majeſty often, upon the great jealouſies the parliament had of them, towards whom they profeſſed all fidelity. But after ſome time, their behaviour towards his majeſty was more free and open, they viſited him more frequently, and had longer conferences with him; and *Cromwell* in particular is ſaid to have promis'd him, "That if he and his "party would ſit ſtill, and neither act or declare "againſt the army, they would reſtore him, and "make him the moſt glorious prince in Chriſten-"dom." Tho' we are told, that in private among his friends, he boaſted, "That now he had got "the

His behaviour towards the king.

" the king into his hands, he had the parliament " in his pocket." His majeſty was very ſenſible that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* bore the greateſt ſway in the army, and that general *Fairfax* had little or no influence upon it. We are inform'd, that his excellency conferr'd with the king in private, and in a particular manner offer'd him his ſervice; but upon his taking leave, his majeſty ſaid to him, *Sir, I have as good intereſt in the army as you:* which expreſſion, the general ſaid, was more ſhocking, and occaſioned him more grief and vexation, than all the troubles and fatigues he had endured thro' the whole war. 1647.

THE news of the king's being in the army, and the civil treatment he met with from them, occaſion'd the queen and prince of *Wales*, then in *France*, to diſpatch Sir *Edward Ford*, who had married *Ireton*'s ſiſter, but had been an officer in the king's army from the beginning of the war, to ſound the deſign of the army, and to promote an agreement between the king and them. Sir *John Berkley* was likewiſe ſent over upon the like errand; and 'twas in his inſtructions to procure a paſs for Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, to come and aſſiſt him in his negociation. Being on his way towards *London*, he was met by Sir *Allen Appeſly*, who had been lieutenant-governour under him at *Exeter*; by whom he was acquainted, that he was ſent to him from lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, and ſome other officers of the army, with letters and a cypher, as alſo particular inſtructions to deſire him to call to mind his own diſcourſe at a conference with colonel *Lambert*, and other officers, upon the ſurrender of *Exeter*; when having taken notice of the bitter reproaches caſt on the king by thoſe of the army, and ſuppoſing that ſuch diſcourſes were encourag'd in order to diſpoſe mens minds for an alteration of the government; he ſaid, " That it was not only a " moſt wicked, but difficult undertaking, if not

His meſſage to Sir *John Berkley*.

1647. " impoſſible, for a few men, not of the greateſt " quality, to introduce a popular government, " againſt the king, the nobility and gentry, the " Presbyterians, and the genius of the nation, for " ſo many ages accuſtom'd to monarchy; and ad- " vis'd, That ſince the Presbyterians, who had " begun the war upon many ſpecious pretences, " were found to have ſought only their own ad- " vancements, by which means they had loſt al- " moſt all their power and credit; the Indepen- " dent party, who had no particular obligation to " the crown, as many of the Presbyterians had, " would make good what the Presbyterians had " only pretended to, and reſtore the king and peo- " ple to their juſt and ancient rights; which they " were concern'd to do in point of prudence and " intereſt, there being no means under heaven " more likely to ſecure themſelves, and obtain as " much truſt and power as ſubjects are capable of; " whereas if they aim'd at more, it would be at- " tended with a general hatred, and their own de- " ſtruction." He was likewiſe order'd by *Crom- " well*, to let Sir *John* know, " That tho' to this " diſcourſe of his, they then gave only the hear- " ing; yet they had ſince found by experience, " that all, or the greateſt part of it was reaſonable, " and they were reſolv'd to act accordingly, as " might be perceiv'd by what had already paſs'd; " and deſir'd that he would preſent them humbly " to the queen and prince, and be a ſuitor to them " in their names, not to condemn them abſolutely, " but to ſuſpend their opinion of them, and of " their intentions, till their future carriage ſhould " make full proof of their integrity, of which they " had already given ſome teſtimonies to the world; " and that when he had perform'd this office, he " would come back to *England*, and be an eye- " witneſs of their proceedings."

THE

THE parliament at this time fear'd nothing ſo much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the king, and unite with his party, of which there was ſo much ſhew; and many imprudent perſons, who very much deſir'd it, bragg'd too much of it; whereupon the two houſes ſent a committee to his majeſty, with an addreſs of another ſtrain than they had lately us'd, making many proteſtations of duty, and declaring, "That "if he was not in all reſpects treated as he ought "to be, and as he deſir'd, it was not their fault, "who were deſirous he might be at full liberty, "and do what he would." The army at the ſame time was not without jealouſy, that the king hearken'd to ſome ſecret propoſitions from the Presbyterian party, and deſign'd to make an abſolute breach between the parliament and the army; which occaſion'd *Ireton* to ſay to him, *Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be ſo between you and the parliament.* The king, in the mean time finding himſelf courted on all hands, was ſo confident of his own importance, as to imagine himſelf able to turn the ſcale to what ſide ſoever he pleaſed. In this temper he was when Sir *John Berkley* came to him; which he did, after leave obtain'd from *Cromwell*, who alſo confirm'd with his own mouth what Sir *Allen Appeſly* had before communicated to Sir *John*, with this addition, "That he thought "no man could enjoy his life and eſtate quietly, "unleſs the king had his right; which, *he ſaid*, "they had already declared to the world in gene- "ral terms, and would more particularly very "ſoon, wherein they would comprize the ſeveral "intereſts of the Royaliſts, Presbyterians, and In- "dependents, as far as they were conſiſtent with "one another." Some time after, 'tis ſaid, Sir *John* meeting him at *Reading*, as he was coming from the king at *Caverſham*, *Cromwell* told him,

1647.

His diſcourſe with him.

1647. "That he had lately ſeen the tendereſt ſight that "ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview "between the king and his children;" and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, ſaying, "That "never man was ſo abus'd in his ſiniſter opinion "of the king, who he thought was the moſt up-"right and conſcientious man in the three king-"doms; that the Independent party were infinite-"ly oblig'd to him, for not conſenting to the pro-"poſitions ſent to him at *Newcaſtle*, which would "have totally ruin'd them, and which his ma-"jeſty's intereſt ſeem'd to invite him to." Concluding with this wiſh, "That God would be "pleas'd to look upon him, according to the ſin-"cerity of his heart towards the king."

Agitators and *Cromwell* doubtful of one another's ſincerity towards the king.

THE army in general, as well as *Cromwell*, appeared at this time to be very zealous for the king's intereſt, and yet they ſeem'd ſomewhat to ſuſpect the reality of one another's intentions. Some of the principal agitators, with whom Sir *John Berkley* convers'd at *Reading*, declared to him their jealouſy, that *Cromwell* was not ſincere for the king, and deſir'd him, if he found him falſe, to inform them of it, promiſing, that they would endeavour to ſet him right, either with or againſt his will. Major *Huntingdon*, an officer in *Cromwell*'s regiment, who was entruſted by him to command the guard about his majeſty, became wholly devoted to the royal intereſt, and by the king's order brought two general officers to *Berkley*, as perſons in whom he might confide. Theſe two diſcours'd frequently with him, and aſſur'd him, "That a conjunction "with the king was univerſally deſir'd by the offi-"ficers and agitators, and that *Cromwell* and *Ire-"ton* were great diſſemblers, if they were not real "in it; but that the army was ſo bent upon it at "preſent, that they durſt not ſhew themſelves other-"wiſe." They likewiſe inform'd him, "That "propoſals were drawn up by *Ireton*, wherein

"Epiſcopacy

"Epiſcopacy was not requir'd to be aboliſh'd, nor "any of the king's party wholly ruin'd, nor the "*militia* to be taken away from the crown;" and advis'd, "That his majeſty would without delay "conſent to them, there being no aſſurance of the "army, which they had obſerv'd already to have "changed more than once." *Cromwell* himſelf was alſo doubtful of the army. In all his conferences with *Berkley*, he appear'd exceeding deſirous of a ſpeedy agreement with the king, inſomuch that he ſometimes blam'd *Ireton*'s ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his backwardneſs in coming up to his majeſty's ſenſe; and on the other hand would wiſh, that Sir *John Berkley* would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up by narrow principles; always declaring, *That he doubted the army would not perſiſt in their good intentions towards the king.* 1647.

By this time Mr. *Aſhburnham* was arriv'd, to the king's great ſatisfaction. Sir *John Berkley* convers'd chiefly with the agitators; but *Aſhburnham* was ſoon of another mind, and openly declar'd, That having always us'd the beſt company, he would not converſe with ſuch ſenſeleſs fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gain'd, they would, without doubt, be able to command their own army; and that he determin'd to apply himſelf wholly to them. Hereupon there was ſoon obſerv'd a great familiarity between him and *Whalley*, who commanded the guard that attended the king, as alſo a cloſe correſpondence with *Cromwell* and his ſon-in-law *Ireton*, meſſages daily paſſing from the king to the head-quarters: Which ſoon gave the reſt of the army a ſuſpicion of ſome private treaty being carry'd on with the king; who being likewiſe encouraged by the Presbyterian party (the lord *Lauderdale*, and ſeveral of the city of *London*, aſſuring him, that they would oppoſe the army to the death) when the propoſals were brought to him, and his

Mr. *Aſhburnham* arrives.

And correſponds with *Cromwell*.

The king diſlikes the army's propoſals.

1647. concurrence humbly desir'd by the army, he entertained their commissioners with very disobliging language, saying, That no man should suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much, as that he passed the bill against the earl of *Strafford*; and that he would have the church established according to law by the proposals; for there was nothing mention'd in them concerning church-government. The proposals were indeed much more moderate than those sent to him from the parliament; but he unhappily thought, they proceeded only from the necessity they had of him, and in discoursing with them, would frequently use these or the like expressions, *You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin, if I do not sustain you.* Not only the officers of the army who were present, but the king's own party, appear'd exceedingly astonish'd at this kind of proceeding; whereupon he began to soften his former discourse, but it was too late; for colonel *Rainsborough*, who seem'd least of all to desire an agreement with him, immediately going out from the conference, went directly to the army, and gave them to understand what treatment their commissioners and proposals had met with from the king.

At which he is disgusted.

Let us now see how matters stood between the parliament, army, and city at this time. The city, who hated the army, had their *militia* settled on the 4th of *May*, in the management of the Presbyterians, who were very diligent in compleating their companies: But this was contrary to the design of the army, and judg'd to be a conspiracy against it; whereupon *Fairfax*, who in every thing was influenc'd by *Cromwell*, upon the 10th of *June* wrote a letter to the parliament, *That the* militia *of the city of* London *might be put into the hands of such as were better affected to the army.* This the parliament quietly submitted to, and *July* 23d repeal'd the ordinance of the 4th of *May*.

The

The common-council being hereupon aſſembled, reſolv'd to petition the parliament againſt it, which they accordingly did on the 26th; and preſently after, many thouſand citizens, young men and apprentices, went in a body and deliver'd another petition, ſetting forth, "That to order the city's "*militia* was the city's birth-right, belonging to "them by charters confirm'd in parliament; for "defence whereof, they had ventur'd their lives "as far as the army; and therefore they deſir'd, "that the *militia* might be put again into the ſame "hands, in which it was put with the parliament's "and city's conſent, by the ordinance of the 4th "of *May*." Upon the reading of this petition, the houſe of peers immediately revoked the ordinance of the 23d of *July*, and renewed that of the 4th of *May*, and ſent it down to the commons for their conſent; which they durſt not refuſe, the apprentices behaving themſelves ſo inſolently, that they would ſcarce let the door of the houſe be ſhut, and ſome of them got in amongſt them: And ſome time after, when the houſe broke up, the ſpeaker was forc'd back into the chair, by the violence of the multitude, who detain'd him and the members, till they oblig'd them to paſs a vote, *That the king ſhould come forthwith to* London; and another, *That he ſhould be invited to come with honour, freedom, and ſafety.* And then both houſes adjourn'd for four days. 1647. The parliament inſulted.

In this interval, ſeveral members, and the ſpeakers of both houſes, being apprehenſive of danger from ſuch tumults, repair'd to the army, complaining of the violences upon the parliament. The army could not have deſir'd a greater advantage than this gave them, who therefore receiv'd the two ſpeakers with the members, as ſo many angels ſent from heaven for their good, ſhewed them all imaginable reſpect, profeſſed all ſubmiſſion to them, as to the parliament of *England*, and declared, *That* Whereupon ſeveral members fly to the army for protection.

1647. *they would re-eſtabliſh them in their full power, or periſh in the attempt.* After the four days adjournment, the remainder of the parliament met; and both houſes miſſing their ſpeakers, choſe them new ones, and paſſed the following votes. Firſt, *That the king ſhould come to* London. Secondly, *That the* militia *of* London *ſhould be authorized to raiſe forces for the defence of the city.* Thirdly, *That power be given to the ſame* militia *to chuſe a general.* Fourthly, *That the eleven members impeached by the army, ſhould reſume their ſeats in parliament.*

THE citizens armed with theſe powers, proceed to raiſe forces under the command of *Waller*, *Maſſey*, and *Pointz*; but they were very much diſcouraged in their proceedings by the news of the general rendezvous of the army upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, where the two ſpeakers appeared with their maces, and ſuch members as accompanied them, *viz.* the earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, and *Kent*, the lord *Grey* of *Werke*, the lord *Howard*, the lord *Wharton*, the earl of *Mulgrave*, and the lord *Say*, and ſix lords more, with the earl of *Mancheſter*, their ſpeaker; and about a hundred members of the houſe of commons, with their ſpeaker, Mr. *Lenthal.*

Which marches to *London.*

Beſides, the borough of *Southwark* was generally for the army, which was now marching towards *London*, to reſtore the members who fled to them, to their places and authorities. Part of the army ſeized upon the block-houſe at *Graveſend*, and block'd up the city by water towards the *Eaſt*, and the general with the reſt of the army, towards the *Weſt*. Upon this, the aldermen and common-council of the city deſerted their three generals, and ſent to *Fairfax* for a pacification; which he granted them upon theſe conditions. Firſt, *That they ſhould deſert the parliament then ſitting, and the eleven members.* Secondly, *That they ſhould recal their late declaration.* Thirdly, *That they ſhould relinquiſh their preſent* militia. Fourthly, *That they ſhould*

ſhould deliver up to the general all their forts, and the tower of London. Fifthly, *That they ſhould diſband all the forces they had lately raiſed, and do all things elſe, which were neceſſary for the publick tranquility.* 1645.

THE next day, *Cromwell* march'd to *Weſtminſter*, and placed the guards in the court, in the hall, and even at the doors of the two houſes: and a little after, general *Fairfax* conducted the ſeveral members who had fled to the army, to their ſeats in parliament; where they annulled all the acts and orders, which had paſſed ſince the 26th of *July*. Two days after, the army march'd, as it were, in triumph thro' the city, the general leading the avant-guard, major-general *Skippon* the main body, and *Cromwell* the rear-guard; and all the ſoldiers having laurel-branches in their hats. After this pompous march, the army was diſtributed into quarters, in *Kent*, *Surrey*, and *Eſſex*; and thus they ſurrounded the city. And reſtores them to their ſeats.

THE city being ſubdued, and the parliament and army ſeemingly reconciled, there now aroſe differences in the army itſelf. The agitators, no longer inclin'd to an agreement with the king, were very much diſturbed at ſome of the great officers, who were ſtill for promoting ſuch an agreement: And many in the army complained of the intimacy of Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, with the chief officers of the army, declaring to the council of agitators, that the doors of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were open to them, when they were ſhut to thoſe of the army. *Cromwell* was very uneaſy at theſe diſcourſes, and inform'd the king's party of them, telling *Aſhburnham* and *Berkley*, Factions ariſe in the army. They are jealous of *Cromwell*'s treating with the king.

" That if he were an honeſt man, he had ſaid
" enough of the ſincerity of his intentions; and if
" he were not, nothing was enough; and there-
" fore he conjured them, as they tendered the
" king's ſervice, not to come ſo frequently to his
" quarters, but to ſend privately to him; the

" ſuſpicion

1647. "ſuſpicion of him being growing ſo great, that he "was afraid to lie in them himſelf." Thus the agitators, who were ſuppoſed to be firſt ſet up by *Cromwell* to oppoſe the parliament's deſign of diſbanding, began to be very troubleſome to him, and were at length ſo ſet againſt him, that he was forced for his own ſafety to make his peace with them, by abandoning the king's intereſt: as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

He prevails on the king to reject the parliament's propoſitions.

About three weeks after the army enter'd *London*, the parliament thought fit to addreſs themſelves to the king, in the old propoſitions of *Newcaſtle*, ſome particulars concerning the *Scots* only excepted. His majeſty adviſing with *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham*, and ſome others about him, upon this matter, 'twas concluded to be unſafe for him to treat with the parliament, whilſt the army were the maſters: And ſome ſay, that inſtructions were given by *Cromwell* and other officers, *That if the king "ould aſſent to their propoſals, lower than thoſe of the parliament, the army would ſettle him again in his throne.* However it was, the king thought fit to wave the parliament's propoſitions, or any treaty upon them, and deſired a perſonal treaty upon the propoſals of the army. The officers of the army having ſeen his anſwer before it was ſent, ſeem'd to be very well pleaſed with it, and promiſed to do all they could to procure a perſonal treaty; and accordingly *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and many of their party in the houſe, preſs'd his majeſty's deſires with great earneſtneſs; but, contrary to their expectations, they met with a vigorous oppoſition from ſuch as had already conceiv'd a jealouſy of their private agreement with the king, and now thought themſelves ſure of it; the ſuſpicions of them growing ſo ſtrong, that they were look'd upon as betrayers of the cauſe, and loſt almoſt all their friends in the parliament. The army likewiſe, which lay then about *Putney*, were no leſs diſſatisfy'd with their pro-

proceedings, of which they receiv'd daily information from thoſe that came to them from *London*; ſo that the agitators began to complain openly in council, both of the king and the malignants about him, and declar'd, "That ſince the king had re- "jected their propoſals, they were no farther en- "gag'd to him; but that they were now to con- "ſult their own ſafety, and the publick good, and "having the power devolved upon them by the "deciſion of the ſword, to which both parties had "appeal'd, and being convinc'd that monarchy "was inconſiſtent with the good of the nation, they "reſolve to uſe their endeavours to reduce the go- "vernment of *England* to the form of a *common-* "*wealth*." They alſo deſigned to have ſeiz'd *Aſh-burnham* and *Berkley*, for negotiating the treaty they ſuppos'd to have been carried on between the king and *Cromwell*; and carrying their fury yet further, were reſolv'd to wreſt the king out of the hands of the two traitors. as they call'd *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. Theſe things ſtruck a great terror into theſe two leaders, ſo that they thought it neceſſary to draw the army to a general rendezvous, which they could the better bring about, becauſe moſt of the great officers were ſtill well affected to the king, and diſliked theſe proceedings of the agitators, whoſe exorbitant power they hoped by that means to ſuppreſs. But the agitators having notice of the intended rendezvous, and gueſſing at the deſign of it, us'd their utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, and reſolved before-hand to ſeize on the perſon of the king.

1647.

The army prejudiced againſt him.

The fury of the agitators.

CROMWELL in the mean time acquainted the king with the danger he was in, and aſſuring him of his real ſervice, proteſted to him that it was not in his power to undertake for his ſecurity in the place where he now reſided. Hereupon the king was reſolved to make his eſcape from *Hampton-Court*; and ſome adviſed him to ſecure his perſon by leaving the kingdom: But to this he objected, that

By *Cromwell*'s advice the king makes his eſcape from *Hampton-Court*.

1647. that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was unwilling to quit the army till that was over; becauſe, if the ſuperior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagements; if not, they muſt apply themſelves to him for their own ſecurity. Several other advices were offer'd him; but he at laſt reſolved to go to the iſle of *Wight*, being very probably, as *Ludlow* obſerves, recommended thither by *Cromwell*, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel *Hammond* the governour, who was one of the army. Purſuant to this reſolution, the king left *Hampton-Court* in the night, *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham* with ſome others accompanying him; and on the 13th of *November* they all went over to the iſle of *Wight*, being conducted thither by *Hammond* himſelf, who the day before came to wait on his majeſty at *Titchfield*.

And goes to the iſle of *Wight*.

CHAP. VII.

From the king's eſcape from Hampton-Court, *and departure to the iſle of* Wight, *to the breaking out of the ſecond civil war.*

THE parliament being inform'd of the king's withdrawing himſelf from *Hampton-Court*, was in a terrible conſternation, and immediately paſs'd an ordinance, declaring, "That it ſhould "be confiſcation of eſtate, and loſs of life, for any "to harbour, or conceal the king's perſon, with-"out giving information to the parliament." And being now moſtly devoted to the army, they cauſed ſome of the moſt noted preſbyterians houſes to be ſearched; and ſent poſt to all the ports of the kingdom, "That they might be ſhut, and no perſon "be permitted to embark, leſt the king in diſguiſe "ſhould tranſport himſelf." And a proclamation was publiſhed, for the baniſhing all ſuch as had ever

ever born arms for the king, from the city, or any place within twenty miles of it. But within two days their fears were all remov'd by *Cromwell*'s informing the houſe, "That he had receiv'd letters "from colonel *Hammond*, of the king's coming to "the iſle of *Wight*, and that he remain'd there in "*Cariſbrook-Caſtle* till the parliament's pleaſure "ſhould be known." He at the ſame time aſſur'd them, "That colonel *Hammond* was ſo honeſt a "man, and ſo much devoted to their ſervice, that "they need not fear his being corrupted by any "body." And all this relation he made, ſays my lord *Clarendon*, with ſo unuſual a gaiety, that all men concluded, that his majeſty was where *Cromwell* deſir'd he ſhould be. 1647. *Cromwell* acquaints the parliament with it.

ABOUT this time the agitators of nine regiments of horſe, and ſeven of foot, preſented a writing to the general, and afterwards to the parliament, declaring; The riſe of the levellers.

1. "THAT the people being unequally diſtributed by counties, cities and boroughs, for e-"lection of their deputies in parliament, ought to "be more indifferently proportioned according to "the number of Inhabitants.

2. "THAT this preſent parliament be diſ-"ſolved by the laſt day of *September* next.

3. "THAT the people do of courſe chuſe "themſelves a parliament once in every two "years.

4. "THAT the power of this, and all other fu-"ture repreſentatives is inferior only to theirs who "chuſe them, and extends, without the conſent "of any other perſon, to the enacting, altering, "and repealing of laws; to the erecting and abo-"liſhing of offices and courts; to the appointing, "removing, and calling to account, magiſtrates "and officers of all degrees; to the making war "and peace; to the treating with foreign ſtates; "and generally to whatſoever is not reſerved by

"thoſe

1647. " thoſe repreſented to themſelves." And here they declare, " That impreſſing or conſtraining " any to ſerve in the war, is againſt freedom, and " not allowed to the repreſentatives.

" THAT in all laws every perſon be bound a- " like; and that tenure, eſtates, charter, degree, " birth, or place, do not confer any exception " from the ordinary courſe of legal proceedings " whereunto others are ſubjected." And

" THAT the laws muſt be equal and good, " and not deſtructive to the ſafety and well-being " of the people.

" THESE they declar'd to be their native rights, " which they were reſolv'd to maintain, and not " to depend, for the ſettlement of their peace and " freedom, upon him that intended their bondage " [*meaning the* king] and brought a cruel war up- " on them." Thus the agitators grew ſtill bolder, and were reſolv'd to accompliſh their deſigns; and theſe with their adherents were now called *Levellers*, and occaſioned great diſturbance to the parliament and in the army, as likewiſe the trial and death of the king. They were call'd *Levellers* in deriſion only, and becauſe they held that no perſon, of whatever rank, ought to be exempted from the *ordinary courſe of legal proceedings*; but as for what is ſaid of their being againſt all degrees of honour or riches, it is utterly falſe.

THE time for the general rendezvous being come, they who were of this party, to diſtinguiſh themſelves, appear'd every one with a paper in his hat, with theſe words written upon it, *The rights of* England, *and the conſent of the people*; ſignifying thereby, that their deſign was to aboliſh, not only monarchy, but alſo the houſe of peers, and to eſtabliſh a pure democracy. This was what colonel *Rainſborough*. one of their leaders, aſſiſted by *Eyre* and *Scot*, went about ſoliciting from one regiment to another, ſtirring up the ſoldiers againſt *Fairfax*,

Fairfax, *Cromwell*, and the other general officers. But *Cromwell* was reſolv'd to endeavour the ſuppreſſion of this licence: For which purpoſe, being accompany'd with divers officers, he with a wonderful briſkneſs and vivacity, rode up to one of the regiments, which wore the diſtinguiſhing marks, and commanded them to take them out of their hats; which they refuſing to do, he caus'd ſeveral of them to be ſeiz'd, and knock'd two or three of them on the head with his own hand; and then the others hearts failing, they ſubmitted to him. He order'd one of thoſe whom he had ſeiz'd to be ſhot dead upon the place, and deliver'd the reſt into the hands of the marſhal, and having diſpers'd the army to their quarters, wrote an account of his proceedings to the parliament; who being very deſirous to have this ſpirit quell'd in the army, return'd him the thanks of the houſe. 1647. They are ſuppreſs'd by *Cromwell*.

THE levellers being thus ſubdu'd, and the parliament and army being now pretty much of a temper, 'twas agreed, that a perſonal treaty ſhould be offerd to his majeſty, on condition, that as a pledge of his future ſincerity, he would forthwith grant his royal aſſent to four preliminary bills. The *firſt* of which was for inveſting the militia in the two houſes: The *ſecond*, for revoking all proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament: The *third*, for making void of all ſuch titles of honour, as had been conferred by his majeſty, ſince his leaving the parliament; and that for the future, none ſhould be granted to any perſon without conſent of the parliament: And the *fourth*, that the houſes ſhould have power to adjourn themſelves as they ſhould think fit. The *Scotch* being not included in this treaty, their commiſſioners ſent a large declaration in very high language to the two houſes at *Weſtminſter*, proteſting againſt the ſending of the four bills, and preſſing for a perſonal treaty with the king at *London*, upon ſuch propoſitions as ſhould be

The parliament offer a treaty with the king, on condition he would firſt paſs four acts.

1647. be agreed on by the advice and consent of the two kingdoms. But the parliament was to be aw'd only by the army; and so they order'd the printer of the *Scotch* declaration to be committed, and then sent them back an answer full of reproof and contempt.

BEFORE we see what reception the four bills met with from his majesty, let us observe how matters pass'd in the army since the late rendezvous. *Ludlow*, as great an enemy to *Cromwell* as to the king, gives us the clearest account of the sudden turn of affairs there, which was to the great damage, and even the ruin of the king's interest; whom therefore I shall follow upon this occasion.

A large account of *Cromwell*'s reconciliation with the *Levellers*, and his quitting the king's interest.

HE informs us, that colonel *Hammond* and Mr. *Ashburnham* had frequent conferences with the king, who had made such promises to *Hammond*, that he express'd his earnest desire, that the army might resume their power, and rid themselves of the agitators, whose authority, he said, he never lik'd. To this end he sent one Mr. *Traughton*, his chaplain, to the army, to advise them to make use of their late success against the agitators; and soon after he earnestly press'd the king to send some of those who attended on him, to the army, with letters of compliment to *Fairfax*, and others of greater confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. He also wrote to them himself, "Conjuring them by "their engagements, their honour and conscience, "to come to a speedy agreement with the king, "and not to expose themselves to the fantastick "giddiness of the agitators." Sir *John Berkley* was appointed by the king, in pursuance of *Hammond*'s advice, to go over to the army; who taking with him Mr. *Henry Berkley* his cousin, went over from the island with a pass from the governour of *Cowes*. Being on his way towards the army, he met Mr. *Traughton*, on his return, between *Bagshot* and *Windsor*, who inform'd him, *That he had no good*

good news to carry back to his majeſty, the army having enter'd into new reſolutions concerning his perſon. He had not gone much farther, before he was met by cornet *Joyce*, who told him, "That he was a- "ſtoniſh'd at his deſign of going to the army, for "that it had been debated amongſt the agitators, "whether, in juſtification of themſelves, the king "ſhould be brought to a trial;" of which opinion he declared himſelf to be. Sir *John* however reſolv'd to go to the army, and being arriv'd at *Windſor*, went to the general's quarters, where the officers of the army were aſſembled. Being admitted, he deliver'd his letters to the general, who receiving them, order'd him to withdraw. Having waited about half an hour, he was call'd in, when the general, with ſome ſeverity in his looks, told him, *That they were the parliament's army, and therefore could ſay nothing to the king's motion about peace, but muſt refer thoſe matters, and the king's letters to their conſideration.* Sir *John* then look'd upon *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the reſt of his acquaintance; but they ſaluted him very coldly, and ſhewing him colonel *Hammond*'s letter to them, ſmil'd with diſdain upon it. 1647.

FINDING himſelf thus diſappointed, *Berkley* went to his lodging; where having ſtaid two hours without any company, he at laſt order'd his ſervant to go out, and ſee if he could find any of his acquaintance. The ſervant going out, met with one who was a general officer, who bid him tell his maſter, that he would meet him in ſuch a place at midnight. They being accordingly met, the officer acquainted *Berkley* in general, that he had no good news to tell him; and then proceeding to particulars, ſaid, "You know, that I and my "friends engag'd ourſelves to you; that we were "zealous for an agreement, and if the reſt were "not ſo, we were abus'd: That ſince the tumults "in the army, we did miſtruſt *Cromwell* and *Ire-*

1647. " *ton*; whereof I informed you. I come now to
" tell you, that we miſtruſt neither, and that we
" are reſolved, notwithſtanding our engagement,
" to deſtroy the king and his poſterity; to which
" purpoſe *Ireton* has made two propoſitions this
" afternoon; one, that you ſhould be ſent priſo-
" ner to *London*; the other, that none ſhould
" ſpeak with you upon pain of death; and I do
" now hazard my life by doing it. The way de-
" ſign'd to ruin his majeſty, is to ſend eight hun-
" dred of the moſt diſaffected in the army to ſe-
" cure his perſon, and then to bring him to a trial,
" and I dare think no farther. This will be done
" in ten days; and therefore if the king can eſ-
" cape, let him do it as he loves his life."

Sir *John* being exceedingly troubled at this relation, ask'd his friend the reaſon of this change, *ſeeing the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and the officers were become ſuperior ſince the laſt rendezvous.* Whereupon he gave him this account: " That though one of the mutineers was
" ſhot to death, eleven more impriſon'd, and the
" reſt in appearance over-aw'd, yet they were ſo
" far from being ſo in reality, that two thirds of
" the army had been ſince with *Cromwell* and *Ire-*
" *ton*, to let them know, that tho' they were
" ſure to periſh in the enterprize, they would leave
" nothing unattempted to bring the whole army
" to their ſenſe; and if all fail'd, they would make
" a diviſion in the army, and unite with any who
" would aſſiſt them in the deſtruction of their
" oppoſers. That *Cromwell* and *Ireton* reaſon'd
" thus with themſelves, *If the army divide, the*
" *greateſt part will join with the Presbyterians, and*
" *will moſt probably prevail to our ruin; or we ſhall*
" *be oblig'd in ſuch a manner to apply ourſelves to*
" *the king, as rather to beg than offer any aſſiſtance;*
" *which if the king ſhall give, and be ſo fortunate*
" *as to prevail; if he ſhall then pardon us, it will*

" *be*

" *be all we can expect, and more than we can aſſure* 1647.
" *ourſelves of:* And thereupon concluded, *That if*
" *they could not bring the army to their ſenſe, it*
" *was beſt to comply with them, a diviſion being ut-*
" *terly deſtructive to both.*" In purſuance therefore of this reſolution, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* employ'd all his thoughts and endeavours to make his peace with the party that was moſt ſet againſt the king; pretending, as he knew well enough how to do on ſuch occaſions, *That the glory of this world had ſo dazzled his eyes, that he could not diſcern clearly the great works that the Lord was doing.* He alſo ſent comfortable meſſages to the priſoners he had ſeiz'd at the late rendezvous, aſſuring them, that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice; and by theſe and the like arts, he perfected his reconciliation with the *levelling* party.

SIR *John Berkley* returning to his lodging, diſpatch'd his couſin to the iſle of *Wight* with two letters; one to colonel *Hammond*, giving a general account, and doubtful judgment of affairs in the army; another in cypher, with a particular relation of the conference he had with the foremen-tioned general officer, and a moſt earneſt ſupplication to his majeſty, to think of nothing but his immediate eſcape. The next morning he ſent colonel *Cook* to *Cromwell*, to acquaint him that he had letters and inſtructions to him from the king: But *Cromwell* return'd him anſwer by the meſſenger, *That he durſt not ſee him, it being very dangerous to them both*; aſſuring him, *that he would ſerve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin*; but he deſir'd, *that it might not be expected, that he ſhould periſh for his ſake.*

THUS we have ſeen the motives, that prevailed on this famous general to abandon the king's intereſt. And much the ſame account is given by *Salmonet*, who will not at all be ſuſpected of being partial to *Cromwell:* So that if he hitherto acted

1646. ſincerely in his deſign to ſerve the king, as is moſt probable, they who charge him with having contrived his ruin from the beginning of the civil wars, aſcribe to him more refined and more ambitious views than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and was as good as any at the art of diſſimulation: But certainly nothing hinders, but a diſſembler may ſometimes be in earneſt; and his ambition might be gratify'd by the private treaty, that was ſuppoſed to be carried on between him and the king, by ſtipulating ſuch honours and advancements for himſelf and family, as ſuch a ſervice (*viz.* reſtoring the king to his throne) might reaſonably lay claim to.

Story of the king's deceiving *Cromwell*.

And here I cannot omit another account, that is given by ſome, of *Cromwell*'s falling off from the king, and deſerting his intereſt. They tell us, that there was a report, that *Cromwell* made a private article with the king, *That if his majeſty clos'd with the army's propoſals, he ſhould be made earl of* Eſſex, *knight of the garter, and firſt captain of the horſe-guards; and* Ireton *was to be made lieutenant of* Ireland. Other honours and employments were likewiſe ſtipulated for *Cromwell*'s family and friends. But the king was ſo uxorious, that he would do nothing without the advice of his queen, who not liking the propoſal, he ſent her a letter to acquaint her, *That though he aſſented to the army's propoſals, yet if by ſo doing he could procure peace, it would be eaſier then to take off* Cromwell, *than now he was the head that govern'd the army.* *Cromwell*, who had his ſpies upon every motion of the king, intercepted this letter, and thereupon reſolv'd never to truſt the king more. This indeed is ſaid to have happen'd before the king left *Hampton-Court*: For upon this they tell us, that *Cromwell* fearing he could not manage his deſigns, if the king were ſo near the parliament and city as *Hampton-Court*, gave him private information, that he

he was in no ſafety there, by reaſon of the hatred which the agitators bore him; and that he wou'd be more ſecure in the iſle of *Wight*. Hereupon the king, whilſt the parliament and *Scotch* commiſſioners were debating his anſwer to their propoſitions, made his eſcape from *Hampton-Court*; as before related. 1647.

I can ſay nothing to the truth of this ſtory, but leave it to the reader to judge of it as he thinks fit. Only thus much I may obſerve, that F. *Orleans* ſays, 'Twas believ'd in *France*, that the king had deceiv'd *Cromwell*; though he makes this to be purely the effect of *Cromwell*'s artifice. And the lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks of *Cromwell*'s complaining that the king could not be truſted, though he makes his whole carriage towards his majeſty to be nothing but hypocriſy and diſſimulation, in order to bring about his own deſigns. However, I ſhall ſet down his words. *Aſhburnham* and *Berkley*, ſays he, receiv'd many advertiſements (which was a little before the king's eſcape) from ſome officers with whom they had moſt convers'd, and who would have been glad that the king might have been reſtor'd by the army, for the preferments, which they expected might fall to their ſhare. "That *Crom-*
"*well* and *Ireton* reſolv'd never to truſt the king,
"or do any thing towards his reſtoration." And a little after, he ſays, That *Cromwell* himſelf expoſtulated with Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and complain'd,
"That the king could not be truſted, and that he
"had no affection or confidence in the army, but
"was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that
"he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties
"with the Preſbyterians of the city, to raiſe new
"troubles; that he had concluded a treaty with
"the *Scotch* commiſſioners to engage the nation a-
"gain in blood: And therefore he would not be
"anſwerable, if any thing fell out amiſs, and con-
"trary to expectation."

1647.

A remarkable discourse between him and lord *Broghill*.

AGREEABLE enough to this account is the relation given by the author of the memoirs of the lord *Broghill*, of a diſcourſe that paſſed between the ſaid lord and *Cromwell*, whilſt he was in *Ireland*, in 1650. He informs us, that the lord *Broghill* being in diſcourſe with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, fell upon the ſubject of the king's death: *Cromwell* ſaid, *If he* [the king] *had followed his own mind, and had had truſty ſervants about him, he had fool'd them all:* Adding, *We had once an inclination to have come to terms with him, but ſomething that happened drew us off from it.* The lord *Broghill* ſeeing they were both in a good humour, aſk'd them, *Why, if they were inclined to cloſe with him, they had not done it?* Upon which *Cromwell* frankly told him, *The reaſon of our inclination to come to terms with him, was, we found the* Scots *and* Presbyterians *began to be more powerful than we, and were ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to ſtrike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reaſonable conditions: But while we were buſied with theſe thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our ſpies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that day: What it was he could not tell, but a letter was gone to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was ſewed up in the skirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come with the ſaddle upon his head about ten o'clock the following night to the* Blue-Boar-Inn *in* Holborn, *where he was to take horſe for* Dover. *The meſſenger knew nothing of the letter in the ſaddle, but ſome one in* Dover *did. We were then at* Windſor; *and immediately upon the receipt of the letter from our ſpy,* Ireton *and I reſolved to take a truſty fellow with us, and in troopers habits to go to the inn; which accordingly we did, and ſet our man at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was ſhut, but the wicket open, and our man*

ſtaid

ſtaid to give us notice when any one came with a ſaddle upon his head. Ireton *and I ſat in a box near the wicket, and call'd for a cann of beer, and then another, drinking in that diſguiſe till ten o'clock, when our centinel gave us notice that the man with the ſaddle was come; upon which we immediately roſe; and when the man was leading out his horſe ſaddled, we came up to him with our ſwords drawn, and told him we were to ſearch all who went in and out there; but as he look'd like an honeſt fellow, we would only ſearch his ſaddle; which we did, and found the letter we look'd for; and opening it, read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen,* he was now courted by both the factions, the *Scotch* Presbyterians and the army; that which of them bid faireſt for him ſhould have him; that he thought he ſhou'd cloſe ſooner with the *Scots* than the other. *Upon which we ſpeeded to* Windſor, *and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately reſolv'd to ruin him.* 1647.

FOR a concluſion, I ſhall ſet down what Dr. *Wellwood*, in his memoirs, ſays, concerning this matter. "As every thing, *ſays he*, did contri-
"bute to the fall of king *Charles* I. ſo did every
"thing contribute to the riſe of *Cromwell:* And
"as there was no deſign at firſt againſt the king's
"life, ſo it is probable that *Cromwell* had no
"thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at
"what he afterwards was. It is known, he was
"once in treaty with the king, after the army had
"carried his majeſty away from *Holmby-houſe*, to
"have reſtored him to the throne; which proba-
"bly he would have done, if the ſecret had not
"been like to take vent, by the indiſcretion of
"ſome about the king; which puſh'd *Cromwell*
"on to prevent his own, by the ruin of the king."

HOWEVER it was (for theſe things muſt ſtill remain under ſome confuſion) it is certain, as the lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that a few days after the

1647. king's departure from *Hampton-Court*, and after it was known he was in the iſle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at *Windſor* (very probably the ſame which *Ludlow* mentions, into which Sir *John Berkley* was admitted) where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were preſent, to conſider what ſhould now be done with the king: And 'twas reſolved, *That he ſhould be proſecuted for his life as a criminal perſon.* This reſolution, however, was a great ſecret, whereof the parliament had not the leaſt notice or ſuſpicion; but was, as it had been, to be led on by degrees to do what it had never deſigned.

Meeting of officers at *Windſor* reſolve to have the king proſecuted.

The parliament's four bills preſented to him.

THE parliament's commiſſioners being arrived in the iſle of *Wight*, preſented the four preliminary bills with the propoſitions on them to his majeſty; and the next day the *Scotch* commiſſioners waited on the king, and entered their proteſtation to this purpoſe, "That they had endeavoured all "ways and means with the parliament of *Eng-* "*land*, for furthering a happy peace; but hav- "ing ſeen the propoſitions and bills brought to "his majeſty, which they apprehended prejudi- "cial to religion, the crown, and the union be- "tween the two kingdoms; they therefore, in "the name of the kingdom of *Scotland*, declared "their diſſent." The king having no mind to paſs the four bills, and gueſſing what might thence enſue, began to think of making his eſcape. And general *Fairfax* ſent a letter to the houſe of commons to acquaint them, that there had been ſome meeting in the iſle of *Wight*, with an intention to reſcue the king; for which reaſon he had ſent orders to the governor, to have a ſtrict guard upon his majeſty's perſon. Whereupon the parliament agreed, that his excellency be required to take ſpecial care, for ſecuring the king's perſon in the caſtle of *Cariſbrook*, and that *Hammond* ſhould obey his farther orders and directions.

THE

THE commiſſioners of the parliament were by this time come back with the king's anſwer, which imported, *That he had refus'd to paſs the bills, or to make a compoſure in that way; but had barely offer'd a perſonal treaty.* Upon this there followed a long debate in the houſe, and many ſevere and bitter ſpeeches were made againſt the king. Among the reſt, *Cromwell* declar'd, "That the "king was a man of great parts and great un- "derſtanding; but withal ſo great a diſſembler, "and ſo falſe a man, that he was not to be truſt- "ed." And thereupon he rehearſed ſeveral particulars whilſt he was in the army: *That the king wiſhed ſuch and ſuch things might be done; which being done to gratify him, he was diſpleaſed, and complained of it: That whilſt he profeſſed with all ſolemnity, that he referred himſelf wholly to the parliament, and depended only on their wiſdom and counſel, for ſettling and compoſing the diſtractions of the kingdom, he at the ſame time had ſecret treaties with the* Scotch *commiſſioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and deſtroy the parliament:* Concluding, "That they might trouble them- "ſelves no further with ſending meſſages or farther "propoſitions to the king, but that they might "enter upon thoſe counſels, which were neceſſa- "ry towards the ſettlement of the kingdom, with- "out having farther recourſe to him." Thoſe of his party ſeconded this motion with new reproaches upon the perſon of the king; and after ſeveral days ſpent in paſſionate debates on this matter, the houſe of commons voted, *Firſt*, "That they will "make no farther applications or addreſſes to the "king. *Secondly*, That no addreſſes or applica- "tions be made to the king by any perſon what- "ſoever, without leave from the parliament. "*Thirdly*, That they will receive to more meſ- "ſages from the king; and that no perſon do "preſume to bring any meſſage from him to the "parlia-

1647.

He refuſes to paſs them.

Cromwell's ſpeech in the houſe thereupon.

Votes of no more addreſſes to the king.

1647. "parliament, or any other perſon. *Fourthly*, "That the perſon or perſons who ſhall make "breach of theſe orders, ſhall incur the penalty of "high treaſon." And to theſe votes the lords ſoon after agreed.

A further account of the ſpeeches of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*.

SOME give a larger account of the ſpeeches of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* in this grand debate. They ſay, that *Ireton* was the firſt that ſpake with warmth, and that *Cromwell* ſeconded him; and that from the king's refuſing to ſign the four acts, they inferr'd, "That he had ſufficiently declared himſelf "for arbitrary government:" and alledged, "That he was no longer the protector, but the "tyrant of his people; and conſequently, that "they were no longer his ſubjects, and that they "ought to govern without him; that their long "patience had avail'd nothing; and that it was "expected from their zeal to their country, that "they ſhould take ſuch reſolutions, as were wor-"thy of an aſſembly with whom the nation had "entruſted their ſafety." They add, that as theſe two perſons were not only members of the houſe, but alſo chiefs in the army; after they had firſt ſpoken under the former character, they ſpake again in the other, to this effect: *That they were well perſuaded of the parliament's good intentions, and were aſſured, that without ſuffering themſelves to be amuſed any longer, they would defend the nation by their own proper authority, and by the courage of thoſe valiant men, that were enrolled under their banners, who by their mouths gave them aſſurances of their fidelity, which nothing could ſhake. But have a care*, ſaid they, *that you do not give the army, who ſacrifice themſelves for the liberty of the nation, any grounds to ſuſpect you of betraying them; and don't oblige them to look for their own ſafety, and that of the nation, in their own ſtrength, which they deſire to owe to nothing, but to the ſteadineſs and vigour of your reſolutions.* This was a bold ſpeech,

if

if true; and 'tis farther ſaid, that *Cromwell*, at the concluſion of it, clapt his hand upon his ſword. 1647.

THUS the parliament and army were united againſt the king; and now colonel *Rainſborough*, one of the chief of the Levellers, was appointed admiral of the fleet; and two or three members of the houſe of commons of that party were ſent down to the head quarters at *Windſor*, with orders to diſcharge from cuſtody captain *Reynolds*, and ſome others, who had been impriſoned by the officers of the army, for endeavouring to effect that which they themſelves were now doing; and to exhort the officers to uſe their utmoſt endeavours towards a ſpeedy ſettlement.

BUT notwithſtanding this conjunction of the parliament and army, they could not enjoy their power and authority without great diſturbance and oppoſition. The votes of non-addreſs had exceedingly enrag'd the Preſbyterians as well as the royal party; and the people in general began to be very uneaſy and diſcontented. Taxes and impoſitions were continually increaſed, and became almoſt an inſupportable burden to the nation, and yet there was no likelihood of coming to a ſettlement for the eaſe of theſe grievances; and moſt believed there would never be any till the king was reſtor'd. Upon this, the people in many parts of the kingdom began to exert themſelves in the behalf of their ſovereign, who, however cloſely confined in the iſle of *Wight*, ſtill held a correſpondence in *England*, and had intelligence from thence. Several petitions were brought to the parliament by great numbers of people, in a tumultuous manner, for a perſonal treaty with the king; of which the chief were thoſe of *Surry*, *Eſſex* and *Kent*: And in many places, the people began to think of taking up arms for compaſſing theſe deſigns. Beſides, the *Scots*, purſuant to their treaty with the king, were making all poſſible preparations for raiſing an army; 1648. Diſcontents and tumults of the people.

1648. my; wherein the Preſbyterians and Cavaliers join'd, tho' with different views; and the Preſbyterians in *England*, diſcours'd freely of great hopes from the other kingdom. Thus the dark clouds began to gather apace, and in a ſhort time a ſecond civil war infeſted the whole nation.

Cromwell's management thereupon.

IN the mean time, as *Ludlow* tells us, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* procur'd a meeting of ſeveral leading men of the Preſbyterian and Independant parties, both members of parliament and miniſters, at a dinner in *Weſtminſter*, in order to promote a reconciliation between the two intereſts: But he found it a work too hard for him to heal the differences and animoſities of theſe two prevailing parties, one of which would endure no ſuperior, the other no equal; ſo that this meeting came to nothing.

He contrives a conference between the grandees and commonwealth's-men.

ANOTHER conference was by his contrivance held in *King-ſtreet*, between thoſe call'd the grandees of the houſe and army, and the commonwealth's-men; in which the grandees, of whom *Cromwell* was the head, deliver'd themſelves with ſome uncertainty, and would not declare their opinions either for a monarchical, ariſtocratical or democratical government, maintaining that any of them might be good in themſelves, or for the nation, according as providence ſhould direct: Whilſt the commonwealth's-men would have it, that monnrchy was neither good in itſelf, nor for the nation, and us'd ſeveral arguments to confirm their opinion, recommending at the ſame time the eſtabliſhment of an equal commonwealth; notwithſtanding which the lieutenant-general profeſs'd himſelf for the preſent to be unreſolv'd; and the next day paſſing by *Ludlow* in the houſe, he told him, *That he was indeed convinc'd of the deſireableneſs of what was propos'd, but not of the feaſibleneſs of it.*

He courts the commonwealth party.

CROMWELL, however, in theſe times of difficulty and danger, thought fit to court the commonwealth party, and to that end invited ſome of them

them to confer with him at his chamber. The next time he came to the houſe of commons, he inform'd *Ludlow* of it, who freely told him, *That he knew how to cajole and give them good words, when he had occaſion to make uſe of them.* Whereupon with ſome paſſion he ſaid, *They were a proud ſort of people, and only conſiderable in their own conceits.* At another time he complain'd to *Ludlow*, as they were walking in the *Palace-yard*, *of the unhappineſs of his condition, having made the greateſt part of the nation his enemies, by adhering to a juſt cauſe:* But his greateſt trouble he ſaid was, *That many who were engag'd in the ſame cauſe with him, had entertain'd a jealouſy and ſuſpicion of him; which he affirm'd to be a great diſcouragement to him.* This ſhews, that notwithſtanding his late reconciliation with thoſe call'd *Levellers*, they ſtill ſuſpected he was not true to their cauſe; and yet, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of keeping as fair with them as poſſible. 1648.

TUMULTS and inſurrections ſtill increaſing, and all things ſeeming to threaten a new war, *Cromwell* thought it likewiſe neceſſary to preſerve a good underſtanding between the parliament and army. He therefore got the general to write to the houſe of lords, to aſſure them of the army's ſubmiſſion, and that they would act nothing but in concert with the two houſes, and by their order. Being likewiſe afraid of the city, he propos'd in the houſe of commons to unite the intereſts of the parliament, the city, and the army, and to make them (as he ſaid) invincible, by making them inſeparable. So a treaty was ſet on foot, in which indeed the army was not mention'd, only that the two regiments that had come into the city upon ſome diſturbance there, ſhould be withdrawn; but the treaty only mention'd the two houſes, and the city: And this conjunction was ſufficient for *Cromwell* at preſent; for he thereby prevented the union which the city was upon the point of concluding with the *Scotch* royaliſts;

He endeavours a union between the parliament, army, and city.

1648. royaliſts; and beſides, the power which the army had in the houſe, was at this time ſufficient to ſecure the city to them. But let us now ſee, how the ſecond civil war was manag'd, and the great ſhare of ſucceſs our lieutenant-general had therein.

CHAP. VIII.

The ſecond civil war, and Cromwell's *actions in it.*

The beginning of the ſecond civil war.

THE firſt that actually took up arms, were the *Welſh*; and this they did under the conduct of major-general *Laughorn*, colonel *Poyer* and colonel *Powel*, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the parliament's ſide; but being now to be diſbanded by order of the council of war, they refus'd to obey; and the better to ſecure themſelves, declar'd for the king, and acted by commiſſion and powers from the prince of *Wales*. Major-general *Stradling*, and other royaliſts, joining with *Laughorn*, he ſoon had the appearance of a conſiderable army, which very ſhortly enabled him to poſſeſs himſelf of the town and caſtles of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*; at which time *Chepſtow* Caſtle was likewiſe ſurpriz'd by Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh*. The preparations in *Kent* for a war were not leſs formidable; for great numbers in that country rendezvouſing near *Rocheſter*, they choſe *Goring* earl of *Norwich*, who was then with them, for their general; and they ſoon receiv'd a conſiderable addition to their ſtrength, by great numbers of apprentices and reform'd officers and ſoldiers daily flocking from *London* to their quarters; which ſo frighted the two houſes, that they preſently reſtor'd to the city their *militia*; and *Skippon* being re-admitted to the command of their forces, they interrupted the communication with *Kent*, by placing guards upon the paſſages of the river. The increaſe

increaſe of the *Kentiſh* forces ſo animated the ſeamen, that a conſiderable part of the navy, with captain *Batten*, ſometime vice-admiral to the earl of *Warwick*, revolted from the parliament, and put themſelves under the power of prince *Charles*. But the fierceſt ſtorm was threatned from the preparations in the *North*, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and others of the king's party, having ſurpriz'd the ſtrong town of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, and Sir *Thomas Glemham*, that of *Carliſle*, had rais'd a conſiderable body to join with the *Scots*, who were now about to enter *England* with a powerful army. Beſides this, the earl of *Holland*, with the duke of *Buckingham*, the lord *Francis* his brother, the earl of *Peterborough*, and ſome other perſons of quality, having form'd a party of about five hundred horſe with ſome foot, for his majeſty's ſervice, appear'd with them near *Kingſton*, and declar'd againſt the parliament. Several caſtles were ſeiz'd and declar'd for the king; and among the reſt *Pomfret* was artfully ſurpriz'd by major *Morrice*: And there was ſcarce a county in *England*, where there was not ſome aſſociation forming to appear in arms for the king. 1648.

Proceedings of the parliament thereupon.

THESE vigorous preparations for a war became very formidable to thoſe at *Weſtminſter*; who hereupon appointed a committee of ſafety for the commonwealth, which daily ſat at *Derby-houſe*, and conſiſted of twenty perſons, *viz.* ſeven lords, and thirteen of the houſe of commons, of whom lieutenant-general *Cromwell* was one. This committee had power given them to ſuppreſs all tumults and inſurrections, and for that end to raiſe forces as they ſaw occaſion. And then for the more ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the ſeveral inſurrections, the army was divided, and ſmall parties ſent to thoſe places where the royaliſts were weakeſt. *Fairfax*, *Lambert* and *Cromwell* commanded the reſt, every one marching a ſeveral way; *Fairfax* into *Kent*, *Lambert* into the

1648. the north, and *Cromwell* into *Wales*, who was afterwards to march into the north and join *Lambert*.

Several insurrections quell'd.

THE earl of *Holland* and duke of *Buckingham* were ſoon defeated by a party of horſe and foot that was ſent after them, under the command of Sir *Michael Liveſey*. The earl was taken priſoner; the duke, after loſing his brother, the lord *Francis*, narrowly eſcap'd, and went over to *France*. The earl of *Warwick*, with the fleet equipped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards prince *Charles*, who with the revolted ſhips had block'd up the mouth of the *Thames*, where he lay ſome time in expectation, preſuming that the earl would not fight him, and might perhaps come over to him: But perceiving, by the manner of his approach, that he was miſtaken in that particular, he thought fit to make all the ſail he could for the coaſt of *Holland*. The caſtles of *Deal* and *Sandwich* were reduc'd by colonel *Rich*; and many of the revolted ſhips not finding things according to their expectation, return'd to the obedience of the parliament. In the mean time general *Fairfax* routed the *Kentiſh* royaliſts at *Maidſtone*, and drove the lord *Goring* with his men into *Eſſex*; where, tho' join'd by the lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liſle*, and others, *Fairfax* forc'd them to ſhut themſelves up in *Colcheſter*, where he beſieg'd them, and lay before the place a long time; but having compell'd them at laſt to ſurrender upon ſuch conditions as he would allow them, Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle* were ſhot to death by ſentence of the council of war, and the lords *Goring* and *Capel*, were ſent priſoners to *Windſor-Caſtle*. But paſſing by theſe things, as not ſo immediately concerning our preſent deſign, let us ſee what ſhare of glory lieutenant-general *Cromwell* acquir'd by his ſucceſſes in this war.

HIS buſineſs, as before hinted, was to reduce the king's party in *Wales*. In order to effect this, he

ſent

ſent colonel *Horton* thither before him, with about three thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, he himſelf following with as many forces as could be ſpared from the army. Being within three or four days march of the colonel, he received information, that *Laughorn* with an army of near eight thouſand, had engag'd him at *St. Fagon's* in *Glamorganſhire*; that upon the firſt charge his forces gave ground; but afterwards reflecting on the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, they charged the van of the royaliſts, where the beſt of *Laughorn*'s men were, with ſuch fury and reſolution, that they obliged them to give way; which thoſe in the rear, being moſtly new-rais'd men, perceiving, they began to ſhift for themſelves: Upon which *Horton*'s men proſecuted their advantage with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the whole body of their enemies was ſoon routed, fifteen hundred ſlain, and near three thouſand taken priſoners. 1648.

Cromwell being ſent into *Wales*, diſpatches *Horton* before him.

Who defeats *Laughorn*'s army.

UPON this *Cromwell* haſtens to join him; and in his march comes before *Chepſtow*, where they drew out ſome forces againſt him: But colonel *Pride*'s men fell on ſo furiouſly that they gain'd the town, and beat the ſoldiers into the caſtle; which being ſtrongly fortify'd, and well provided, *Cromwell* ſent to *Briſtol* for ſome great guns, and haſtening into *Pembrokeſhire*, left colonel *Ewer* to proſecute the ſiege; who having made a breach on the 25th of *May*, reſolutely attack'd and carried the caſtle ſword in hand; Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh*, who commanded there, being ſlain, and an hundred and twenty taken priſoners.

Cromwell beſieges *Chepſtow*.

CROMWELL being arrived in *Pembrokeſhire*, firſt ordered the ſtorming of *Tenby* with colonel *Overton*'s regiment, and part of Sir *W. Conſtable*'s, commanded by lieutenant-colonel *Read*; and ſo after ſeveral furious aſſaults, the town firſt, and then the caſtle ſurrendered upon mercy.

Storms *Tenby*.

1648. *LAUGHORN* and *Powel*, after their defeat by colonel *Horton*, eſcap'd to *Pembroke*, which *Poyer* kept for them. Here they thought themſelves ſafe, when *Cromwell* appearing, beſieg'd them himſelf in perſon in that place: But that dreadful name did not ſo diſcourage them, but that being fully perſuaded that the ſtopping of that general would be as good as a victory, when the parliament had ſo much work on their hands elſewhere, they reſolved to ſtand out, and defended themſelves long enough to have wearied out almoſt any other man, as little us'd to be baffled as *Cromwell*. On the contrary, the rumour of the *Scotch* invaſion daily increaſing, animated the lieutenant-general to employ all his ſkill and vigour for the reduction of this important place. The garriſon within, as has been ſaid, was ſtrong and reſolute, and the place well fortify'd, which however he was reſolved to attempt by ſtorm; and falling on with ſingular courage, met with gallant reſiſtance: After which, not thinking it adviſeable to expoſe his men to new hazards, he determined to gain that by famine, which could not ſo well be effected by force. And this he was the rather induc'd to do, for that he had certain intelligence of the ſmall quantity of proviſions they had in the town and caſtle; and then, diviſions began to ariſe amongſt them, which at length grew to that height, that the ſoldiers were ready to mutiny againſt their commanders; crying out, *We ſhall be ſtarved for two or three mens pleaſures, better it were that we ſhould throw them over the walls.* Accordingly, *Cromwell* order'd ſtrict guard to be kept in his trenches, to keep them from running out; which order being well obſerv'd, they were compell'd at length to deſire a parley, and on the 11th of *July* ſurrender'd the town and caſtle to him upon articles. *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, and ſome other officers, ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners at mercy. Sir *Charles Kemiſh*,

Takes *Pembroke* town and caſtle.

Sir

Sir *Henry Stradling*, and about ten more officers and gentlemen, were to depart the kingdom within ſix weeks, and not to return in two years; and all the reſt to have liberty to go to their homes, and not to be plunder'd. The ſick and wounded were to be taken care of; the towns-men not to be plunder'd, but to enjoy their liberty as formerly; and together with the town and caſtle, the arms, ammunition and proviſions were to be deliver'd up to lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, for the uſe of the parliament. *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel* were afterwards condemn'd by ſentence of a court-martial; but having the favour to draw lots which of them ſhould die, the other two to be ſpar'd, the lot fell upon colonel *Poyer*, who was accordingly ſhot to death in *Covent-Garden*. 1648.

The *Scots* invade *England*.

ABOUT the time that *Pembroke* was reduc'd, duke *Hamilton* enter'd *England* with an army of about twenty thouſand *Scots*, who were farther ſtrengthen'd by the acceſſion of about five thouſand *Engliſh*, under the command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. *Scotland* was at this time divided into two parties, very violent in their oppoſition one to the other; the rigid Preſbyterians, who ſo ador'd the *Covenant*, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the letter, that they would not depart from the moſt rigid clauſe in it, and were utterly againſt having any thing to do with the *Cavaliers* in this expedition; and theſe were headed by the marquis of *Argyle*: And the *Hamiltonian* party, who were in effect for reſtoring the king without any terms, tho' at the ſame time, in order to the more eaſy compaſſing of their deſigns, they pretended a great veneration for the ſame *Covenant*. Now, tho' the former was a ſtrong party, and their number very great; yet the others had manag'd ſo dexterouſly in getting ſuch elections of members for the parliament, as might enable them to carry their point, that when it came to a trial in that aſſembly, the anti-covenan-

1648. ters carry'd all before them; ſo that inſtead of the marquis of *Argyle*, the duke of *Hamilton*, who was the chief of this latter party, was appointed general of their army, all the inferior officers being of the ſame mould and principle; inſomuch that the pulpits, which before had proclaimed this war, now accompany'd the army that was marching into *England*, with their curſes.

THE houſe of commons receiving intelligence that the *Scots* had invaded *England*, declar'd them to be enemies, and order'd lieutenant-general *Cromwell* to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of *Wales*, *Cromwell* march'd towards the *North* with all his power; and ſent to major-general *Lambert*, deſiring him not to engage with the *Scots*, till he came up to him and join'd him. *Lambert* therefore ſkilfully endeavour'd, rather to harraſs the *Scotch* army than to fight it; and choſe rather to let them advance, that they might have the longer way to retreat home; and he found his taſk with them much the eaſier, by reaſon of their ſeveral unſeaſonable halts, by which means the army was daily diminiſh'd, and often ſeparated to their great diſadvantage; all which was owing either to dark deſigns in the army, diviſions, or weak management.

Cromwell marches againſt them.

WHILST *Cromwell* was on his march northwards, a charge of high-treaſon was fram'd againſt him by major *Huntingdon* before-mention'd, with the advice of ſome members of both houſes, for endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himſelf. But it being manifeſt, as *Ludlow* obſerves, that the preferring ſuch an accuſation at that time, was chiefly deſign'd to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might the more eaſily prevail againſt them; the parliament thought

A charge of high-treaſon fram'd againſt him to no purpoſe.

thought it moſt adviſeable to diſcountenance any thing of that nature. 1648.

He defeats the *Scots* ar *Preſton* and other places.

To proceed: *Cromwell* having join'd *Lambert*, both armies met on the 17th of *Auguſt*, near *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*. The *Engliſh* in the *Scotch* army had the honour of the van, and for a time engag'd *Cromwell*'s men with much bravery; but were at laſt ſo vigorouſly preſs'd upon by them, that they were forc'd to retreat to a paſs, which they endeavour'd to maintain, whilſt they ſent to the duke for ſuccour; which he not ſending, they began to ſhift for themſelves; tho' *Langdale* afterwards declar'd, *That if one thouſand foot had been ſent to him, he verily believed he ſhould have gained the day*; and *Cromwell* himſelf acknowledg'd, *That he never ſaw foot fight ſo deſperately as they did.* The *Scots* perceiving the diſorder their *Engliſh* friends were put into, it made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they ſoon followed their example, retreating in a diſorderly manner; but were ſo cloſely purſu'd by *Cromwell*, that many of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themſelves priſoners, and many were ſlain. Several principal officers of their foot were likewiſe taken, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage. Many of their horſe fled towards *Lancaſter*, and were purſu'd near ten miles with great execution,

THE duke march'd away in the night, with about eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; and *Cromwell* follow'd him with about three thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe and dragoons, killing and taking ſeveral in the way; but by the time the reſt of his army was come up, the duke recover'd *Wiggan*, before they could attempt any thing upon them. All that night they lay in the field dirty and weary, and had ſome ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, who the next morning march'd towards *Warrington*, and made a ſtand at a paſs, which for many hours was diſputed with

1648. great reſolution on both ſides: But at length *Cromwell* beat them from their ſtanding, kill'd about one thouſand of them, and took about two thouſand priſoners. He purſu'd them home to *Warrington* town, where they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the bridge; but *Cromwell* coming thither, lieutenant-general *Bayley* deſired to capitulate, and had no other terms given him than, *That he ſhould ſurrender himſelf and all his officers and ſoldiers priſoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition,* &c. which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thouſand compleat arms and as many priſoners, and the duke's infantry was totally ruin'd; who, with his remaining horſe march'd towards *Nantwich*, where the gentlemen of the country took about five hundred of them, and kill'd ſeveral; and *Cromwell* ſent poſt to the lord *Grey*, Sir *H. Cholmley*, and Sir *Ed. Roade*, to gather all together with ſpeed for the purſuit of the enemy. And ſo duke *Hamilton* being preſs'd upon by the country, fled at laſt to *Uxeter* in *Staffordſhire*; where, with about three thouſand horſe which he had with him, he was taken, and ſent priſoner to *Windſor*-Caſtle. Thus the whole *Scotch* army, which had occaſion'd ſo much terror, was routed and defeated; and what is moſt remarkable, is, that all this great victory was obtained by *Cromwell*, with an army amounting to ſcarce above a third part of the *Scots* in number, if they had been all together; the conduct of this general, and the goodneſs of his troops, making amends for the ſmallneſs of the number, which was not diminiſh'd half a hundred in gaining this victory, after the *Engliſh* under *Langdale* had been beaten. And though indeed the circumſtances of this victory are variouſly related by hiſtorians, yet all agree in attributing the honour of it to *Cromwell*. All the enemy's cannon and baggage was taken, with their colours; and only ſome of their horſe, which had been quarter'd moſt backward, made haſte to carry news to their country,

try, of the ill ſucceſs of their arms. They who did not take the way for *Scotland*, were, for the moſt part, taken by the activity of the country or the horſe that purſu'd them. And Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with ſome of his men, who continu'd with him till they found it ſafeſt to diſperſe themſelves, was diſcover'd; and being taken priſoner was convey'd to the caſtle of *Nottingham*, from whence afterwards he had the good fortune to eſcape. 1648.

LIEUTENANT-general *Cromwell* having thus defeated the *Scots* under duke *Hamilton*, reſolv'd to proſecute the advantage, by marching with all poſſible ſpeed againſt *Monroe*, who was come into *England*, as a reſerve to the duke, with above ſix thouſand horſe and foot, and had march'd almoſt to the borders of *Lancaſhire:* But having notice given him, that *Cromwell* was advancing towards him, and not thinking he ſhould be able to ſtand before him, who but juſt before had defeated an army ſo much exceeding his own, he made what haſte he could back into *Scotland*. Marches againſt *Monroe*.

CROMWELL having thus rid the whole nation in general of a great fear, and eas'd the *North* in particular of that grievous burden they groan'd under, by the plunder and oppreſſion of the *Scotch* army, reſolv'd to proſecute his victory to the utmoſt, by entering into *Scotland* itſelf, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatned any further diſturbance. It was generally believ'd, that the marquis of *Argyle* earneſtly invited him to this progreſs; for notwithſtanding duke *Hamilton*'s defeat, his brother the earl of *Lanrick* ſtill bore all the ſway in the committee of parliament, as well as in the council; and the troops which *Monroe* had rais'd for the recruit of the duke's army, were ſtill together, which the few forces rais'd by *Argyle* were not ſufficient to oppoſe. However, if he did not invite *Cromwell*, 'tis certain he was very glad of

1648. his coming, and made all poſſible haſte to bid him welcome at his entrance into the kingdom.

Reduces *Carliſle* and *Berwick*.

CROMWELL with his victorious army continuing his march towards *Scotland*, in his way reduced *Carliſle* and *Berwick* to their former obedience, both being deliver'd up to him on compoſition. Being juſt ready to enter that kingdom, he drew his army to a rendezvous on the banks of the *Tweed*, and order'd a proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that none of them ſhould force from the *Scotch* people any of their cattle or goods, upon pain of death; but that in all things they ſhould behave themſelves civilly in their march and quarters, giving no offence to any.

Enters *Scotland*, and publiſhes a declaration.

As he enter'd *Scotland*, he declar'd, "That "he came with his army to free the kingdom from "a force, which it was under from malignant men, "who had forc'd the nation to break the friend-"ſhip with their brethren of *England* who had "been ſo faithful to them: That it having pleas'd "God to defeat the army under duke *Hamilton*, "who endeavour'd to engage the nation in each "other's blood, he was come thither to prevent "any further miſchief, and to remove thoſe from "authority who had uſed their power ſo ill; and "that he hop'd he ſhould in very few days return "with an aſſurance of the brotherly affection of "that kingdom to the parliament of *England*, "which did not deſire in any degree to invade "their liberties, or infringe their privileges." Upon this the earl of *Lanrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* party withdrew from *Edinburgh*; and they who continu'd there were reſolv'd to comply with *Argyle*, who they now ſaw could protect them.

Marches to *Edinburgh*.

CROMWELL march'd directly for *Edinburgh*, and in his way was met by many of the *Scotch* nobility and gentry from the committee of eſtates, with congratulatory orations in honour of his worthy atchievements; acknowledging that his preſence

preſence would conduce much to the compoſing of the diſtractions of the kingdom. Being thus conducted to *Edinburgh* by the marquis of *Argyle*, and the reſt that came to meet him, he was receiv'd there with all the ſolemnity and reſpect due to the deliverer of their country. His army was quarter'd about, and ſupply'd with all proviſions the country could afford; and himſelf was lodg'd in the earl of *Murrey*'s houſe, where reſorted to him the lord chancellor, with many others of the nobility and gentry. The lord provoſt, with ſeveral eminent citizens, came likewiſe to welcome him thither, and preſent their ſervice to him. Thus the *Scotch* Preſbyterians, who lately look'd upon the Independent party as the worſt of their enemies, now own'd and embrac'd this *Sectarian* army (as they before call'd it) as their beſt friends and deliverers. 1648. His reception there.

LIEUTENANT-general *Cromwell* had not been long at *Edinburgh*, before he demanded of the committee of eſtates, that they would ſeclude from all publick truſts, all who had any hand in, or did in the leaſt promote duke *Hamilton*'s late invaſion: To which the committee gave a ſatisfactory anſwer. Several other demands were likewiſe made by him, with which the committee comply'd; and he reſerv'd liberty for the parliament of *England*, to make ſuch further demands as they ſhould think requiſite. Whilſt he ſtaid with them, the committee ſent an order and command to *Monroe* to diſband his troops; which when he ſeem'd reſolv'd not to do, he ſoon perceiv'd that *Cromwell* muſt be the arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obey'd the orders of the committee. He diſpoſſeſſes the *Hamiltonians*.

CROMWELL having thus finiſh'd what he came about, began to prepare for his return to *England*; but before he left them, the committee fearing ſome new diſturbance might ariſe after the departure of the *Engliſh* army, requeſted him, that he He is requeſted to leave ſome forces behind him.

1648. he would leave ſome forces with them, which might be ready to ſuppreſs any inſurrections; promiſing, that when they had rais'd a ſufficient force for their own defence, they would diſmiſs them, and ſend them back into their own country. To this *Cromwell* readily yielded, and appointed major-general *Lambert*, with three regiments of horſe, for the ſaid ſervice.

Is magnificently treated.

MATTERS having been thus concerted to the ſatisfaction of both parties, the *Scots* invited *Cromwell* and the chief officers of his army to the caſtle of *Edinburgh*, whither they were all convey'd in coaches, and were magnificently treated at a banquet prepar'd for them; and at their departure, they were ſaluted by all the cannon of the caſtle, and many vollies of ſmall ſhot. On the 16th of *October*, *Cromwell* left *Edinburgh*, being conducted ſeveral miles on his way by the marquis of *Argyle*, and many others of the *Scotch* nobility; and at their parting, great demonſtrations of affection paſs'd betwixt them. Soon after, the committee of eſtates ſent letters to the parliament of *England*, acknowledging, "That they were ſenſible of the benefit "to *Scotland*, againſt the enemies of both nations, "by the coming thither of the forces under lieu- "tenant-general *Cromwell*, and major-general "*Lambert*; and that the deportment of the offi- "cers and ſoldiers had been ſo fair and civil, that "they truſted by their carriage the malignants "would be much convinc'd and diſappointed, and "the amity of both kingdoms ſtrengthened and "confirm'd; which they, on their part, ſhould "likewiſe ſtudy to preſerve."

And returns for *England*.

Arrives at *Newcaſtle*, and ſends to reinforce the ſiege of *Pomfret*.

CROMWELL arriving at *Newcaſtle* with his army, was nobly treated there, and welcomed with great guns, ringing of bells, and other rejoycings. From hence he bends his courſe directly to *Carliſle*, having firſt order'd ſome forces for ſtrengthning the ſiege of *Pontefract* or *Pomfret-Caſtle*.

Caſtle. This place, though not very great, was very conſiderable for its ſtrength, but moſt remarkable for the valour of thoſe who defended it, whereby it became famous at this time all over the kingdom. The garriſon conſiſted of about four hundred foot, and a hundred and thirty horſe, all bold and reſolute men, as appear'd by their actions. One time a party of horſe iſſuing out of the caſtle, took Sir *Arthur Ingram*, and carrying him in, oblig'd him to pay one thouſand five hundred pounds for his ranſom, before he could get out again. At another time captain *Clayton*, and moſt of his troops were ſeiz'd upon by them, and made priſoners. They likewiſe fetch'd two hundred head of cattle, with many horſes, into the caſtle, whilſt Sir *Henry Cholmely* lay before it with his forces, to keep them in. But the boldeſt action of all was this (which was indeed a wicked one:) One morning before day, there ſallied out about forty horſe, who haſten'd away to *Doncaſter*, where colonel *Rainſborough*, who had a commiſſion to command in chief before the caſtle, then quarter'd. Being come near the town, three of the party leaving their companions without, with great confidence march'd in, and enquir'd for colonel *Rainſborough*'s quarters; which being inform'd of, they enter'd, pretending they came to deliver a letter to him, from lieutenant-general *Cromwell*. When they came to him, being in bed, they told him he was their priſoner; but upon his refuſal to go ſilently with them, they run him thro' with their ſwords, ſo that he immediately expir'd. And altho' his forces then kept guard in the town, theſe bold fellows, with all their party, got back into the caſtle in the middle of the day. 1648.

To repreſs theſe inſolent proceedings, *Cromwell*, immediately after he had ſettled the reſt of the northern parts in peace and quietneſs, came himſelf before *Pomfret*; and having order'd the ſeveral poſts for a cloſe ſiege, which put a ſtop to their thus

Comes thither himſelf, and leaving *Lambert* before it, marches for *London*.

1648. thus ranging abroad, he left major-general *Lambert*, who was just come out of *Scotland*, with a strong party before it, to compleat the work, whilst himself took his march directly for *London*.

'Twas in this his return from the north that he wrote the following letter.

SIR,

" I Suppose it is not unknown to you how much " the country is in arrear to the garrison of " *Hull*, as likewise how probable it is that the " garrison will break, unless some speedy course " be taken to get them money, the soldiers at the " present being ready to mutiny, as not having " money to buy them bread; and without money " the stubborn town's-people will not trust them " for the worth of a penny. Sir, I must beg of " you, that as you tender the good of the coun- " try, so far as the security of that garrison is " mentioned, you would give your assistance to " the helping of them to their money which the " country owes them. The governor will ap- " ply himself to you either by person or by letter. " I pray you do for him herein as in a business of " very high consequence. I am the more earnest " with you, as having a very deep sense how dan- " gerous the event may be of their being neglected " in the matter of their pay. I rest upon your fa- " vour herein, and subscribe myself,

SIR,

Your very humble servant,

Knottingly, Nov. 25, 1648. O. Cromwell.

For my noble friend, Thomas St. Nicholas, *Esq*;

CHAP.

1648.

CHAP. IX.

From the ſecond civil war to the King's *death.*

BEFORE we proſecute our relation of the proceedings of *Cromwell* and the army, from his return out of *Scotland* to the king's death, it will be neceſſary to look a little back, and ſee how matters were carried in the parliament.

Proceedings in the parliament.

SOON after the army was remov'd from *London*, by reaſon of the late inſurrections, thoſe of the ſecluded members who were in *England*, ventur'd to return to their former ſeats, and the Preſbyterians began to prevail again in the houſe; and *Cromwell* and the other officers who were members of the houſe, had not been long abſent before the common-council of the city thought fit to preſent a petition to the parliament for a perſonal treaty with the king, as the only way to reſtore the nation to a happy peace. This appear'd ſo much to be the ſenſe of the city, that the parliament durſt not poſitively reject it; and indeed the greateſt part of them did at this time very much deſire the ſame thing. Hereupon Sir *Henry Vane*, with the reſt of the army-party in the houſe, were forced to contrive ſome ſpecious way to delay it, by ſeeming to conſent to it. And ſo a committee of the commons being appointed to confer with a committee of the city, about means to provide for the king's ſafety during the time of the treaty, the former perplex'd the other with various queſtions, to which they knew there could be no anſwer given without firſt calling another common-council to receive further inſtructions. By this device, and by ſtarting new queſtions at every meeting, much time was ſpent, and the deſir'd delays obtain'd. How-

They reſolve upon a perſonal treaty with the king.

ever, the parliament at laſt declar'd, "That they "would enter into a perſonal treaty with his maje- "ſty for ſettling the peace of the kingdom; and "that

1648. " that the treaty ſhould be in the iſle of *Wight*, " where his majeſty ſhould enjoy honour, freedom " and ſafety." And commiſſioners were ſent from both houſes to inform the king, " That the par- " liament deſir'd a treaty with his majeſty upon " the propoſitions tender'd to him at *Hampton-* " *Court*, and ſuch others as ſhould be preſented to " him."

THEY were no ſooner return'd from the iſle of *Wight* with the king's anſwer, but the parliament had notice of the defeat of the *Scotch* army; and *Cromwell* had written to his friends, " That it " would be ſuch a perpetual ignominy to the par- " liament, that no body abroad or at home would " ever give credit to them, if they ſhould recede " from their former vote and declaration of no more " addreſſes to the king; conjuring them to conti- " nue firm in that reſolution." But the parliament had made too great a ſtep to go back from what they were now upon; and ſince the firſt motion for a treaty, many abſent members reſorted to the houſe and promoted the deſign; ſo that they were much more numerous than thoſe who labour'd to obſtruct it: And ſo, notwithſtanding all oppoſi- tion, it was declar'd, " That the votes of no-ad- " dreſſes ſhould ſtand repeal'd; that the treaty " ſhould be at *Newport*; and that his majeſty ſhould " be there with the ſame freedom, as when he was " at *Hampton-Court*; that the inſtructions given to " colonel *Hammond*, for the more ſtrict confining " him, ſhould be recall'd; and that all whom the " king had nam'd, ſhould have liberty to repair to " him, and remain with him undiſturb'd." Then they nominated five lords and ten of the houſe of commons to be their commiſſioners to treat with the king, and order'd them to haſten the treaty with all poſſible expedition: But Sir *Henry Vane* being one of them, us'd all his arts to delay it, as he had done before with the parliament, in hopes that

Cromwell writes to his friends againſt it.

Votes of no-addreſſes repeal'd.

that *Cromwell* would finiſh matters in *Scotland* time enough to return, and to uſe more effectual means to obſtruct it, than he was furniſhed with. *Cromwell* was very well appriz'd of theſe proceedings, which made him think, that his preſence at the parliament was ſo neceſſary to reſtrain the Preſbyterians, who ceas'd not to vex him at any diſtance, that he would not be prevail'd with to tarry and finiſh that only difficult work which remain'd, *viz.* the reducing *Pomfret-Caſtle*; but leaving it to *Lambert*, continued his march for *London*, as before related. 1648.

What haſtened *Cromwell's* return to *London*.

FORTY days were appointed for the treaty; which being expir'd, and all men thinking the treaty was ended, the commiſſioners received new orders and inſtructions to enlarge it fourteen days longer and after that to continue it four days more, and laſt of all one day more: After which the commiſſioners returned; and whilſt their report was under conſideration in the houſe, the large remonſtrance of the army was brought from the head-quarters, which was now at *Windſor*, to the houſe of commons; in which they deſired, "That the "parliament would lay aſide all further proceed-"ings in this treaty, and return to their vote of "no-addreſſes; that the king might come no more "to government, but be brought to Juſtice, as the "capital cauſe of all the evils in the kingdom; "that a day might be ſet for the prince and the "duke of *York*, to appear and anſwer to ſuch "things as might be laid to their charge; and if "they fail'd herein, they might be declar'd trai-"tors: That an end might be put to this parlia-"ment, and new repreſentatives of the people "choſen, for the governing and preſerving the "whole body of the nation: That no king might "be hereafter admitted, but upon election of, and "in truſt for the people, *&c.*" In concluſion, "they preſs theſe things, as good for this and "other

The army preſent their large remonſtrance to the houſe.

1648. " ther kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken " ill, becauſe from an army, and ſo ſervants, " when their maſters are ſervants, and truſtees for " the kingdom."

Great conteſts between the parliament and army.

THIS remonſtrance put the houſe into a great confuſion; but that which occaſion'd the greateſt conſternation, was the news from the iſle of *Wight*, that *Hammond* was diſcharged, and colonel *Ewer* had carried away the king to *Hurſt-Caſtle*. Upon this the houſe, which was then in the heat of the debate upon the king's anſwer, immediately deſiſted, and voted, " That the carrying the king to " *Hurſt-Caſtle*, was without their advice and con- " ſent;" and ſent a letter to the general, " That " the orders and inſtructions to colonel *Ewer* were " contrary to thoſe given to colonel *Hammond*; " and therefore it was the pleaſure of the houſe, " that he ſhould recal thoſe orders, and that colo- " nel *Hammond* ſhould again reſume the care of the " king's perſon." But the general (who hitherto agreed in every thing with the army) in return, demanded the arrears due to the army; and declar'd, That unleſs there were preſent money ſent for that purpoſe, he ſhould be oblig'd to remove the army nearer to *London*. At the ſame time the army ſent a new declaration to the houſe, in purſuance of their late remonſtrance; which the houſe refus'd to take into conſideration; and ſome reſolute members moved, " That the army might be declared " traitors, if they preſumed to march nearer *Lon-* " *don* than they were at preſent; and that an im- " peachment of high-treaſon might be drawn up " againſt the principal officers of it." Hereupon the general marched directly to *London*, and quarter'd at *White-hall*; and other officers with their troops in *Durham-houſe*, the *Meuſe*, *Covent-garden*, and St. *James*'s; and to ſupply the preſent neceſſity, and prevent all inconveniences, they ſent to

The army marches to *London*.

the

the city for forty thouſand pounds to be iſſued out without delay for the army. 1648.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the party in the houſe who were friends to the treaty, reſolved ſtill to exert themſelves; upon which there followed a violent ſtruggle between them and thoſe on the contrary ſide, which continued a whole day and night together: And about five in the morning, *December* 5, they firſt put the queſtion, *Whether the queſtion ſhould be put?* and carried it by a hundred and forty voices againſt a hundred and four; ſo that they paſs'd the grand queſtion, and voted without dividing, *That his majeſty's conceſſions to the propoſitions upon the treaty, were ſufficient grounds for the parliament to proceed upon for the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom.* And to prevent any after-claps, they appointed a committee to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correſpondence between the army and the parliament; and then adjourn'd till the next morning.

Notwithſtanding which the commons vote the king's conceſſions to be a ſufficient ground for peace.

THE officers and army finding the parliament thus reſolute in oppoſing their deſigns, and that their coming into the city was not a ſufficient check upon them, reſolv'd now to exert themſelves to purpoſe. Accordingly ſome regiments of horſe and foot being ſent to *Weſtminſter*, they ſet guards upon all the avenues to the parliament-houſe, and ſeiz'd upon one and forty of the members, as they were entering. And as they made priſoners of theſe, ſo about an hundred more were denied entrance into the houſe; whereupon the reſt of the Preſbyterian party being ſomewhat diſmay'd at the treatment of their fellow-members, declin'd coming to the houſe, leaving it to the poſſeſſion of about an hundred and fifty; who being for the moſt part officers of the army, were diſpoſed to do every thing according to the direction of their leaders.

Upon which the army ſeizes on ſeveral members, and purges the houſe.

1648. THE army having thus purged the houſe from all they either knew or ſuſpected to be enemies to their deſigns, lieutenant-colonel *Axtel* came in, and preſented to the remaining members the propoſals of the army, ſetting forth, "That they had "for a long while ſadly beheld and taſted, in their "proceedings, the miſerable effects of counſels di-"vided and corrupted by faction, and perſonal in-"tereſt; and deſiring, that all faithful members "would acquit themſelves by a proteſtation of "their not concurring in the late proceedings, "and would then ſpeedily and vigorouſly proceed "to take order for the execution of juſtice."

Cromwell arrives, and receives the thanks of the houſe.

THE night after this interruption was given to the houſe, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* arrived in town, and lay at *White-hall*; and the next day taking his place in parliament, he had the hearty thanks of the houſe given him for his great and faithful ſervices perform'd for the nation; which he receiv'd with the greateſt appearance of humility (as he was uſed to do) not taking to himſelf the leaſt of all thoſe great things perform'd by him, but aſcribing them wholly to God, the giver of all victory.

He is ſuppoſed to have the chief hand in the late proceedings.

CROMWELL, tho' abſent, is generally ſuppos'd to have influenc'd in all the late proceedings, and to be the chief promoter of them. 'Tis ſaid, that at the leaguer before *Pomfret*, he induc'd all the regiments under him to petition againſt the treaty, and for juſtice on the king; that 'twas by his advice and direction that the remonſtrance of the army was drawn up and preſented to the houſe; and ſome ſay, that 'twas he that ſent colonel *Ewer* to remove the king to *Hurſt-caſtle*. 'Tis certain, that both he and his ſon-in-law *Ireton* had a very great influence upon the general, and could manage him almoſt in every thing as they pleas'd. However it was, *Cromwell*, upon his arrival, declar'd at *White-hall*, and other places, *That he had not*

been

been acquainted with the deſign (of the army's interrupting the houſe); *yet ſince it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.* 1648.

THE remnant of the houſe of commons immediately renew'd their votes of *non-addreſſes* to the king, and annull'd all thoſe that introduced and ſucceeded the treaty; and particularly reſolv'd, *That the king's anſwer to their propoſitions was not ſatisfactory.* Soon after it was moved in the houſe, to proceed capitally againſt the king, when *Cromwell* ſtood up and declared, "That if any man mov'd "this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the great- "eſt traitor in the world; but ſince providence "and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he would "pray God to bleſs their counſels, though he was "not provided on the ſudden to give them coun- "ſel." On *December* 16th, a party of horſe was ſent over to *Hurſt-caſtle* to bring the king to *Windſor*; who lay at *Farnham* on the 22d, and was deliver'd up at *Windſor-caſtle* the day following, colonel *Harriſon* commanding the guards about him. Soon after, the council of war order'd, *That nothing ſhould be done upon the knee to the king; that all ceremonies of ſtate us'd to him ſhould be left off, and his attendance ſhould be with fewer perſons, and at leſs charge.*

Votes of non-addreſſes reſum'd.

Cromwell's ſpeech upon the motion for trying the king.

The king brought to *Windſor.*

NEXT day the committee of the commons, which had been appointed to draw up a charge againſt the king, reported an ordinance *for impeaching* Charles Stuart *king of* England *of high-treaſon; and for trying him by commiſſioners to be nominated in the ſaid ordinance*; which being agreed to by the commons, was on *January* 2d carry'd up to the lords for their concurrence. But upon their rejecting it, the commons paſs'd theſe remarkable votes; Firſt, *That the people are, under God, the original of all juſt power.* Secondly, *That the commons of* England, *being choſen by, and repreſenting the people, are the ſupreme power of the nation.* Thirdly,

Ordinance for trying him.

1648. *That whatſoever is enacted or declared for law, by the houſe of commons aſſembled in parliament, hath the force of law, tho' the conſent of the king and houſe of peers be not had thereunto.*

High court of juſtice erected.

THEN they proceeded to conſtitute and erect a court, to be called *the high court of juſtice*, which ſhould have authority to try the king, and to examine witneſſes for that purpoſe. The number of the commiſſioners nominated were a hundred and thirty-five, whereof twenty or more had power to proceed. They conſiſted promiſcuouſly of members of the houſe, officers of the army, citizens and country gentlemen. About fifty that were nam'd, refus'd to act, of which number were the ſpeaker *Lenthal*, and general *Fairfax*. Of thoſe who acted, lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, and commiſſary-general *Ireton* were next the preſident. The commiſſioners made choice of ſerjeant *Bradſhaw* for that office, and nominated Mr. *Steel* to be attorney-general, Mr. *Cook* ſollicitor, Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Ask* to be pleaders againſt the king; and *Weſtminſter-hall* was appointed to be the place of trial: In order to which ſolemn tranſaction, the king was brought from *Windſor* to St. *James*'s by colonel *Harriſon*.

The king remov'd from *Windſor* to St *James*'s.

ON the way *Harriſon* obſerv'd, that the king was under an apprehenſion of a fix'd purpoſe to murder him; and that he let fall ſome words *of the odiouſneſs and wickedneſs of ſuch an aſſaſſination, which could never be ſafe to the perſon who undertook it:* Whereupon he took occaſion to aſſure him, *That he needed not to entertain any ſuch imagination; that the parliament had too much honour and juſtice to cheriſh ſo foul an intention; that whatever the parliament reſolved to do would be very publick, and in a way of juſtice, to which the world ſhould be witneſs; and that they would never endure a thought of ſecret violence.* But his majeſty could not believe him; nor did he imagine they would ever venture

to

to proceed againſt him in the way of a publick trial, before all the people. 1648.

ALL the king's friends both at home and abroad now give him for loſt; and yet they did not neglect to make their utmoſt efforts to ſave him. The States-general order'd their ambaſſador to repreſent to the parliament, that the courſe they were going to take with the king, would be a laſting reproach to the Proteſtant intereſt. The prince of *Wales*, and prince of *Orange*, daily ſent, as agents, the kindred and relations of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and other judges appointed to try his majeſty, with commiſſion to offer any thing, and to make any promiſes to ſave his life, or at leaſt to put off the judgment: And the prince wrote a very pathetical letter to general *Fairfax*, in his father's behalf. The duke of *Richmond*, the marquis of *Hertford*, the earls of *Lindſey* and *Southampton*, as is ſaid, generouſly offer'd their own heads to ſave the king, and would have undertook to ſuffer in his ſtead for whatever he had done amiſs. Almoſt all the Preſbyterian miniſters in the city, and very many out of the country, and ſome even of the Independents, declared againſt the deſign in their ſermons, in petitions, proteſtations, and publick remonſtrances. And the *Scots* at the ſame time ſent commiſſioners in great haſte, to declare and proteſt againſt this unheard-of attempt.

Endeavours to ſave him.

THESE commiſſioners, as biſhop *Burnet* informs us, came alſo to *Cromwell* to argue the matter with him. They highly blam'd indeed many of the king's actions, and in a heavy languid ſtyle charg'd him with very great crimes: But ſtill they inſiſted on that clauſe in the covenant, whereby they ſolemnly ſwore they would be faithful in the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon: Upon which they obſerv'd, on what conditions *Scotland*, as well as the parliament of *England*, had engag'd in the war; and what ſolemn declarations of their zeal and duty

Conference between *Cromwell* and the *Scotch* commiſſioners about him.

1648. to his majeſty they had all along made; which would now be found, to the ſcandal and reproach of the Chriſtian name, to have been falſe pretences, if now the king was in their hands, they ſhould proceed to extremities. Hereupon *Cromwell* held a long diſcourſe with them concerning the nature of the regal power; and declar'd 'twas his opinion, that a breach of truſt in a king deſerved greater puniſhment than any other crime. And then, as to their covenant, he ſaid, they ſwore to preſerve the king's perſon in defence of the true religion; ſo that if it was manifeſt, that the eſtabliſhing of the true religion was hinder'd by the king, ſo that it could not be effected without removing him, then their oaths could not oblige them to the preſerving him any longer. He further ſaid, they were bound by their covenant to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cauſe, to condign puniſhment; and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all thoſe on whom publick juſtice had taken place, eſpecially thoſe who ſuffer'd for joining with *Montroſs*, but ſmall offenders, who had acted by commiſſion from the king, who was therefore the principal, and ſo the moſt guilty? Thus *Cromwell* had manifeſtly the better of them at their own weapons, and upon their own principles.

The trial of the king.

ALL endeavours being ineffectual, and the court having finiſh'd all the neceſſary preparations, the king's trial began on *Saturday* the 20th of *January*. The ſubſtance of the charge againſt him was, "That "he had endeavour'd to ſet up a tyrannical power, "and to that end had rais'd and maintain'd in the "land a cruel war againſt the parliament; whereby "the country had been miſerably waſted, the pub-"lick treaſure exhauſted, thouſands of people had "loſt their lives, and innumerable other miſchiefs "committed." The commiſſioners for trying him being met in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on the foreſaid day, the

the court order'd the ſerjeant at arms to ſend for their priſoner from Sir *Robert Cotton*'s houſe, whither he had been removed; who accordingly was brought up in the face of the court by colonel *Tomlinſon*, under a ſtrong guard, and deliver'd to the ſerjeant at arms, who conducted him to the bar, where a crimſon velvet chair was plac'd for him. Having heard his charge read, he refus'd to plead to it, either guilty or not guilty, till he ſhould know by what lawful authority he was brought thither; and the anſwer given not ſatisfying him, he perſiſted in that refuſal. The ſame he did on *Monday January* 22d, when he was a ſecond time brought before the court; as alſo the next day, being the third time. Finally, on *January* 27th, the king being a fourth time brought into the court, deſir'd, before ſentence was paſs'd againſt him, to be heard before the lords and commons in the *painted chamber*; with deſign, as 'tis thought, to have reſign'd his crown to his ſon, the prince of *Wales:* Upon which the judges retir'd for half an hour to conſider of his requeſt; and then returning, they order'd the king to be brought again to the bar; when the preſident told him, that what he had propos'd was but a further denial of the juriſdiction of the court, and tended to the delay of juſtice; and if he had no more to ſay, they would proceed to judgment. And the king anſwering, he had no more to ſay, *Bradſhaw* made a long harangue in vindication of the parliament's proceedings, grounding his diſcourſe moſtly on this principle, *That the people have the ſupreme power, and the houſe of commons is the people.* This ſpeech being ended, and the charge again recited, ſentence was pronounced in theſe words; *For all which treaſons and crimes, this court doth adjudge, that the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and publick enemy, ſhall be put to death, by the ſevering his head from his body.*

1648.

He is condemn'd.

1648.

THO' the king was condemn'd, and there appear'd no hope of ſaving his life, yet ſtill endeavours were not wanting for that purpoſe. The following ſtory is told on this occaſion, That colonel *John Cromwell*, a near relation of the great *Oliver*, came to town about this time, with credential letters from the States of *Holland*, whereto was added a blank, with the king's ſignet, and another of the prince's, both confirm'd by the States, for *Cromwell* to ſet down his own conditions, if he would now ſave his majeſty's life. The colonel went directly to his kinſman's houſe, who was ſo retir'd and ſhut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home, that 'twas with much difficulty he obtain'd admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually ſaluted each other, the colonel deſir'd to ſpeak a few words with him in private; and began with much freedom to ſet before him the heinouſneſs of the fact, then about to be committed, and with what deteſtation 'twas look'd upon abroad, telling him, *That of all men living, he could never have imagin'd he would have had any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had proteſted ſo much for the king.* To this *Cromwell* anſwer'd, *It was not he but the army; and tho' he did once ſay ſome ſuch words, yet now times were alter'd, and providence ſeem'd to order things otherwiſe.* And 'tis ſaid, he added, *That he had prayed and faſted for the king, but no return that way was yet made to him.* Upon this the colonel ſtep'd a little back, and ſuddenly ſhut the door, which made *Cromwell* apprehend he was going to be aſſaſſinated; but the other pulling out his papers, ſaid to him, *Couſin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourſelf, but your family, relations and poſterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwiſe, as they have chang'd their name before from* Williams *to* Cromwell, *ſo now they muſt be forced to change it again; for this fact*

Cromwell's kinſman ſent to him, in behalf of the king.

fact will bring ſuch an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface. At this *Cromwell* paus'd a little, and then ſaid, *Couſin, I deſire you will give me till night to conſider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to-bed, till you hear from me.* The colonel did accordingly, and about one in the morning a meſſenger came to tell him, *He might go to reſt, and expect no other anſwer to carry to the prince; for the council of officers had been ſeeking God* (a phraſe, it ſeems, very much in uſe at that time) *as he alſo had done the ſame, and it was reſolved by them all, that the king muſt die.* 1648.

A committee was appointed by the high-court of juſtice to inſpect the parts about *White-hall* for a convenient place for the king's execution: Having made their report, it was determined, that a ſcaffold ſhould be made near the banquetting-houſe for that purpoſe; and 'twas order'd to be cover'd with black. The ſame day, *Jan.* 29th, about threeſcore of the commiſſioners ſign'd a warrant for the king's execution, directing it to colonel *Hacker*, colonel *Hunks*, and colonel *Phayer*, or either of them. *Cromwell*'s name ſtood the third in this warrant, *Bradſhaw* and lord *Grey* of *Groby* only ſtanding before him. The ſame day the king's children waited on him to take their leave of him. An extraordinary ambaſſador from the States had his audience in the houſe of commons; whoſe errand was to intercede with them for the king's life, and to maintain a good correſpondence between *England* and the *United Provinces*. The next day, being the 30th of *January*, about eight o'clock in the morning, his majeſty was with a guard brought from St. *James*'s through the park to *White-hall*; where having ſtaid about two hours in a private room, he was led to a ſcaffold out of a window of the banquetting-houſe: And having made a ſpeech, and taken off his *George*, he kneeled down at

The execution of the king.

1648. at the block, and the executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body.

CAPTAIN *Hewlet* was condemned after the reſtoration, for cutting off the king's head, or at leaſt for being one of the perſons who ſtood maſk'd upon the ſcaffold, though ſeveral creditable witneſſes depos'd, that *Gregory Brandon*, the common hangman, had confeſs'd and own'd that he executed the king, and that he affirm'd as much to the lord *Capel*, when he ſuffer'd by the ſame ax; and captain *Hewlet* offer'd to make it appear, that he was not then upon the ſcaffold, nor near it, nay, that he was ſeiz'd and ſecured for refuſing to be there. Notwithſtanding this, *Hewlet* was found guilty by the jury; but was repriev'd: And if we may believe what *Lilly* writes in his *own life*, it was the reſolute *Joyce* (who ſeized the king at *Holmby*) that ſtruck the fatal ſtroke. The account that *Lilly* gives is as follows, "The next *Sunday* but one after *Charles* "the Firſt was beheaded, *Robert Spavin*, ſecretary "to the lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, invited him- "ſelf to dine with me, and brought *Anthony Pier- "ſon* and ſeveral others along with him to dinner. "Their principal diſcourſe was, who it was that "beheaded the king: One ſaid it was the common "hangman; another, *Hugh Peters*; others were "alſo nominated, but none concluded. *Robert "Spavin*, as ſoon as dinner was done, took me by "the hand, and carrying me to the *South* window, "ſaid, *Theſe are all miſtaken, they have not nam'd "the man that did the fact; it was lieutenant-colo- "nel* Joyce: *I was in the room when he fitted him- "ſelf for the work, ſtood behind him when he did it, "and when done, went in again with him. There's "no man knows this but my maſter* Cromwell, *com- "miſſary* Ireton, *and myſelf.*"

His behaviour and character.

THE king, in all his ſufferings, ſhew'd a calm and compoſed firmneſs, which amaz'd all people; and the rather, becauſe 'twas not natural to him.

He

He had many indignities offered to him, eſpecially during his trial; but he bore them all with a true greatneſs of mind, without diſorder, or any kind of affectation. Thus, as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, he died greater than he had liv'd, and ſhew'd that, which has been often remark'd of the whole family of the *Stuarts*, that they bore misfortunes better than proſperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chaſtity, and an utter enemy to all kind of debauchery; and if he had any perſonal faults, they were much overweighed by his virtues. Happy were it for him, if his government had been as free from blame. The rock on which he ſplit, was an immoderate deſire of power, beyond what the conſtitution allow'd. His reign both in peace and war was a continual ſeries of errors: He was out of meaſure bent on following his humour; but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe whom he truſted, eſpecially the queen. His friends regretted the aſcendant ſhe had over him on many occaſions; and others taxed him with the character of an uxorious huſband. He had certainly a fixed averſion to popery; but was much inclin'd to a middle way between the Proteſtants and Papiſts; whereby he loſt the one without gaining the other. In ſhort, his whole conduct was ſuch, as verified this maxim, *That errors in government have ruin'd more princes than perſonal vices.* 1648.

THUS have we got over this dark ſcene, in which our lieutenant-general is commonly ſuppoſed to be chiefly concern'd. But as 'tis not ſtrange he ſhould, if the ſtory of the King's dealing deceitfully with him be true; ſo it may more reaſonably be concluded, that his ſon-in-law *Ireton*, rather than he, was the perſon who chiefly influenc'd in theſe proceedings. I know *Ireton* is ſuppoſed all along to have acted by *Cromwell*'s directions; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many caſes be juſtly que- How far his death is to be imputed to *Cromwell.*

1648. queſtioned. *Ireton* was certainly a zealous commonwealth's-man, which party was always averſe to any treaty with the king; and though he with *Cromwell* was in ſuch a treaty, yet *Ludlow* thinks he never really intended to cloſe with the king; but only to lay his party aſleep, whilſt they were conteſting with the Preſbyterian intereſt in parliament; but he ſays no ſuch thing of *Cromwell*, whom he ſeems all along to be angry with, for his deſign of making an agreement with the king, being himſelf utterly averſe to it, and ſuppoſing *Cromwell*'s main end was to gratify his own ambition; which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earneſt in the treaty, and alſo have deſign'd the publick good. *Cromwell* was certainly no commonwealth's-man, though he was forc'd to humour, and in many things actually to comply with the party; and as the agitators and their off-ſpring the levellers, who were no other than the commonwealth's-men in the army, and whom it is likely *Cromwell* at firſt might make uſe of to bring about ſome of his deſigns, were the original contrivers and chief actors in the king's death; ſo whatever hand *Cromwell* had in it, ſeems to be chiefly owing to their fury and deſperate reſolutions, which made him apprehenſive of the greateſt danger, if he did not comply with their deſigns; though at the ſame time, the contradictions that appear'd in the king's conduct, might the more eaſily incline him to join purpoſes with them. In ſhort, what with the danger that threaten'd his perſon, if he had perſiſted to oppoſe the deſigns of the levellers; what with the enthuſiaſm, that was ſo habitual to him; and what with the conſideration of the king's paſt miſgovernment, which had been the original cauſe of all the evils the nation had ſuffer'd, and the fear of the like happening for the future, if he ſhould be reſtor'd; he having diſcover'd himſelf to be of a very inconſtant and wavering, not to ſay equivocating temper; *Cromwell*

was

was at length ſo wrought upon, as to think it neceſſary, and ſo lawful, to take off the king; in which towards the laſt he ſeem'd to be pretty active, tho' always in ſome doubt about it. We are expreſly told, he at firſt ſhew'd ſome repugnance to ſo black an undertaking, as my author calls it, and ſeem'd to ſhew his abhorence of it, and not to ſurmount it, as he ſaid himſelf; but only becauſe he ſaw that the providence of God and the neceſſity of the times, had inſpir'd the army to make ſo terrible a ſacrifice; but that that ſacrifice, after all, was the only one that could ſave the ſtate and religion. And I cannot here omit what biſhop *Burnet* ſays of this matter: He tells us, that *Ireton* was the perſon that drove on the king's trial and death, and that *Cromwell* was all the while in ſome ſuſpence about it. "*Ireton*, ſays he, had the principles "and the temper of a *Caſſius* in him: He ſtuck "at nothing that might have turn'd *England* to a "commonwealth; and he found out *Cook* and "*Bradſhaw*, two bold lawyers, as proper inſtru-"ments for managing it." And we are informed by others, that *Ireton* was the perſon who wrought upon *Fairfax*, and manag'd the affair of the army's remonſtrance, and purging the parliament, and brought it about. To conclude, tho' I am far from pretending to juſtify the whole of *Cromwell*'s conduct in theſe extraordinary tranſactions; yet I cannot but think, that a greater load of guilt and infamy is uſually laid to his ſhare, than he really deſerv'd. & I cannot but think the direct contrary.

1648.

THE

THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART II.

Containing an account of his actions and behaviour, from the time of the KING's *death, to the forcible diſſolution of the long* PARLIAMENT.

CHAP. I.

From the KING's *death to* Cromwell's *arrival in* Ireland.

1648. HAVING ſeen the actions of this wonderful man, during the Life of king *Charles*, let us now view him under the commonwealth government: But firſt it may be proper to obſerve, how this government was eſtabliſh'd.

A commonwealth government ſet up.

The firſt thing the parliament (for ſo the remnant of the houſe of commons now call'd themſelves) did after the king's death, was to paſs an act, ordaining, "That no perſon whatſoever do "preſume to proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any "ways promote *Charles Stuart*, ſon of the late "*Charles*,

" *Charles*, commonly call'd the prince of *Wales*, 1648.
" or any other perſon, to be king or chief magi-
" ſtrate of *England* or *Ireland*, *&c.* without the free
" conſent of the people in parliament, firſt had,
" and ſignified by a particular act or ordinance
" for that purpoſe, under pain of being adjudg'd a
" traitor." Then they made another act, " That
" ſuch as had aſſented to the vote, *That the king's*
" *conceſſions were a ground for the houſe to proceed*
" *to a ſettlement*, ſhould not be re-admitted to ſit
" as Members." Theſe therefore were commonly call'd the *ſecluded members*.

Soon after, *Feb.* 5. they voted *the houſe of Peers to be uſeleſs and dangerous*, and an act was accordingly paſs'd *for aboliſhing it*, tho' *Cromwell* is ſaid to have appear'd for them. And to remove all that ſtood in the way of their deſign'd common-wealth, they reſolv'd and declar'd, " That
" it had been found by experience, that the office
" of a *King* in this nation was unneceſſary, bur-
" denſome, and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety,
" and publick intereſt of the nation; and there-
" fore it ſhould be utterly aboliſh'd." Then the form of government was declar'd to be a *Common-wealth*; and a *council of ſtate* was appointed, conſiſting of forty perſons, whereof *Cromwell* was one; to whom power was given, to command and ſettle the militia of *England* and *Ireland*, to order the fleet, and ſet forth ſuch a naval power, as they ſhould think fit; to appoint magazines and ſtores for *England* and *Ireland*, and to diſpoſe of them for the ſervice of both nations, as they thought proper. And they were to ſit and execute theſe powers for the ſpace of one whole year. And now all writs formerly running in the king's name, were to be iſſued out in the names of *the keepers of the liberty of* England. And a new oath, or *engagement*, was prepar'd, *to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſh'd without king or houſe of peers*;

all

1648. all who refus'd to take it, to be uncapable of holding any place or office in church or ſtate. If the reader is curious of knowing what perſons compos'd the council of ſtate for this firſt year, they were as follows: *John Bradſhaw*, Eſq; preſident, earl of *Denbigh*, earl of *Mulgrave*, earl of *Pembroke*, earl of *Saliſbury*, lord *Grey*, lord *Grey* of *Groby*, lord *Fairfax*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; —— *Rolles*, Eſq; *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *John Wild*, Eſq; *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, Eſq; lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, major-general *Skippon*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *William Maſſam*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *John Dauvers*, Sir *William Armine*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *William Conſtable*, *Alexander Popham*, *William Purefoy*, *Iſaac Pennington*, *Rowland Wilſon*, *Edmund Ludlow*, *William Heveningham*, *Robert Wallop*, *Henry Marten*, *Anthony Stapley*, *John Hutchinſon*, *Valentine Walton*, *Thomas Scot*, *Dennis Bond*, *Luke Robinſon*, *John Jones*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſqs;

Another *High court of Juſtice.*

THE new commonwealth being thus ſettled and ſecur'd, another *High court of Juſtice* is now erected for the trial of delinquents. Before this court the duke of *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, the earl of *Norwich*, the lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, being brought, receiv'd ſentence of death, for being concern'd in the late invaſion and inſurrections. After judgment given, they petition'd the commons; and ſo their reprieve or their execution was put to the vote of the houſe; and duke *Hamilton* and the lord *Capel* were caſt, and Sir *John Owen* ſav'd by a conſiderable majority; as the earl of *Holland* was caſt, and the earl of *Norwich* ſav'd, by the ſingle vote of the ſpeaker, the houſe being before equally divided as to them; ſo that *Hamilton*, *Holland* and *Capel* were ſoon after beheaded in the *Palace-yard* at *Weſtminſter*. It muſt be remember'd here, that when the lord *Capel*'s petition, which his lady deliver'd, was read in

in the houſe, many ſpoke in his favour, and ſaid, that he had never deceiv'd or betray'd them, but had always freely and reſolutely declared for the king: And *Cromwell*, who knew him very well, ſpoke ſo many things to his honour, and profeſs'd ſo much reſpect for him, that all believ'd he was ſafe, till he concluded, "That his affection for "the publick ſo out-weigh'd his private friend-"ſhip, that he could not but tell them, that the "queſtion was now, *Whether they would preſerve* "*the moſt bitter and moſt implacable enemy they had:* "That he knew well, that the lord *Capel* would "be the laſt man in *England* that would aban-"don the royal intereſt; that he had great cou-"rage, induſtry, and generoſity; that he had ma-"ny friends who would always adhere to him; "and that as long as he liv'd, what condition ſo-"ever he was in, he would be a thorn in their "ſides: And therefore, for the good of the com-"mon-wealth, he ſhould give his vote againſt the "petition." It ought alſo to be remember'd, that Sir *John Owen*'s reprieve was owing in great meaſure to the generoſity and good nature of commiſſary-general *Ireton*, who obſerving there had been no application made, nor a word ſaid in behalf of *Owen*, ſpoke for him thus, as lord *Clarendon* tells us, "There have been great endeavours and ſoli-"citations us'd to ſave all thoſe lords; but there's "a commoner, another condemn'd perſon, for "whom no man hath ſaid a word, nor has he "himſelf ſo much as petition'd: Therefore I de-"ſire that Sir *John Owen* may be preſerv'd by the "meer motive and goodneſs of the houſe;" which was aſſented to.

1648.

Cromwell's ſpeech againſt the lord *Capel.*

ABOUT this time, ſeveral things were declared by the parliament to be high-treaſon, and this among the reſt, *viz.* For any ſoldiers of the army to contrive the death of their general, or *lieutenant-general*; or endeavour to raiſe mutinies in the army.

1648. A private ſtory of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*.

A LITTLE before this, *Cromwell* and his ſon-in-law *Ireton* went along with *Whitelock* from the council of ſtate, and ſupp'd at his houſe. Here they were very chearful, and ſeem'd extremely well pleas'd; and related many wonderful obſervations of God's providence, in the courſe of the war, and in the affair of the army's coming to *London*, and ſeizing the members of the houſe. Having thus diſcours'd together till midnight, they return'd home, and in their paſſage their coach was ſtopp'd, and they were examin'd by the guards. They preſently told their names; but the captain of the guards would not believe them, and threaten'd to carry theſe two great officers to the court of guard. Hereupon *Ireton* grew a little angry, but *Cromwell* made himſelf merry with the ſoldiers, gave them twenty ſhillings, and commended them and their captain for doing their duty. And they afterwards confeſs'd that they knew *Cromwell* and *Ireton* well enough, and were more ſtrict with them than with others, to let them ſee they were careful of their duty; which they believ'd theſe great men came at that time on purpoſe to obſerve.

1649. Council of agitators to be aboliſh'd, which occaſions freſh diſturbance in the army.

MATTERS being now brought to ſome degree of ſettlement, it was thought fit to aboliſh the council of agitators in the army; leſt they, who had been the chief authors in all the late changes, ſhould now take it in their heads to carry matters further than the preſent rulers cared they ſhould. But theſe agitators had taſted too much of power to be willing to be ſtripp'd of it; but at the ſame time made a wrong computation of their own ſtrength by the great things they had formerly effected, not conſidering that their ſuperior officers were now wholly united with the parliament, and entirely concurred with them, in carrying on the ſame deſigns. They preſently drew up a petition to the lord general *Fairfax* and his council of officers, againſt the deſign of aboliſhing them; but by

by a council of war, the ſubſcribers of this petition were ſentenced to ride with their faces towards the horſes tails before the heads of their ſeveral regiments, with their faults written on their breaſts, to have their ſwords broken over their heads, and ſo to be caſhier'd the army. Which ſentence was accordingly executed upon them in the great *Palace-yard* at *Weſtminſter*, to the great exaſperation of the *Levelling party*, who were reſolved not ſo to be ſuppreſs'd. 1649.

Cromwell again ſuppreſſes the levellers.

FOR not long after, there being a rendezvous at *Ware*, ſeveral regiments, among whom was *Cromwell*'s of horſe, in purſuance of the forementioned petition, and to be diſtinguiſhed from others, wore white in their hats, as they had done once before. *Cromwell* having notice of the deſign, order'd two regiments of horſe from diſtant quarters, who knew nothing of this combination, to appear there likewiſe. Being all drawn up, *Cromwell*, with an angry and down look, rides round, and on a ſudden commands one of thoſe two regiments to encompaſs a regiment of foot; which being done accordingly, he call'd four men by their names out of the body, and with his own hands committed them to the marſhal; and immediately calling a council of war (whilſt the reſt of their confederates ſlunk their white colours into their pockets, and trembled at this boldneſs of *Cromwell*) try'd and condemn'd them. But they had the favour from the court of caſting lots for their lives, two only to die; and the two whoſe lot it was to die, were preſently ſhot to death upon a green bank by the other two in ſight of the army. A little before, another leveller, one *Lockyer*, a trooper, for promoting the engagement and agreement, was ſhot to death in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

NOTWITHSANDING theſe executions, this humour ſtill continued in the army, and began to break out with greater violence, upon the parliament's

1649. voting, that eleven regiments, by lot, ſhould be ſent over into *Ireland*. This enrag'd them to that degree, that, finding that inſtead of reaping the advantages they had promis'd themſelves, they were to be expos'd to freſh hazards, and the miſeries of a ſtarving war, they peremptorily declar'd againſt it, as a contrivance to divide them, and gave out, that they would not go for *Ireland*, till the liberties of the people, for which they firſt engaged in war, were ſecured; requiring, That the often promiſed *repreſentative* of the nation might be choſen. And finding that diſcourſes and repreſentations were to no purpoſe, they began to have recourſe to arms. Accordingly colonel *Scroop*'s regiment, having laid aſide their officers, march'd with twelve troops from their quarters at *Salisbury*, towards *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*, in order to a conjunction with thoſe of *Harriſon*, *Ireton* and *Skippon*, and a party under one *Thompſon*, then lying near *Banbury*. This they had effected, if the extraordinary diligence of *Cromwell* and *Fairfax* had not prevented them: For poſting forty miles in one day, they overtook them at *Abingdon*, and firſt offer'd them a treaty, wherein ſatisfaction might be mutually given; and till that were done, that neither party might come within ten miles of each other; to which they agreed: But the *Levellers*, under *Thompſon*, who had increas'd their numbers to about five thouſand, march'd to *Burford*; where, while they were ſecurely reſting themſelves, and their horſes put into the adjoining meadows, about twelve o'clock at night colonel *Reynolds* fell into their quarters, routed them, and took four hundred of them priſoners, and nine hundred of their horſes. *Thompſon* took ſhelter in a wood near *Milton*, where he fought manfully till he was ſlain. Of the priſoners three only were executed, who dy'd very reſolutely. Cornet *Den* expreſſing his grief and ſorrow, was repriev'd at the inſtant of execution; which

which his companions beholding from the leads of the church, were ſaluted with a meſſage of decimation, *i. e.* that every tenth man ſhould die: But at *Cromwell*'s deſire they were all pardon'd, and ſent home to their own houſes. Thus was this inſurrection quell'd on the fifteenth day of *May*. 1649.

He with the general is treated at *Oxford*.

AFTER this, the lord-general *Fairfax* and lieutenant-general *Cromwell* viſited *Oxford*, (the univerſity having ſent a deputation to invite them thither) where they were nobly treated, and made doctors of the civil law; at which time alſo, Sir *Hardreſs Waller* and Mr. *Ruſhworth*, with eight colonels, were created maſters of arts. Then they viſited *Portſmouth*, from whence they return'd to *London* in triumph, and receiv'd new marks of honour from the parliament. And now, to promote a laſting union between the three principals of power, the parliament, the army, and the city, it was contriv'd, that the ſpeaker, with the houſe, the general, with the chief officers, and the council of ſtate, ſhould, after hearing two ſermons, be magnificently feaſted at *Grocers-hall*, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council. This was accordingly done, on the 7th of *June*; the lord-mayor, as 'twas uſual towards kings, meeting *Lenthal* the ſpeaker, with the reſt of the members, at *Temple-bar*, and there reſigning the ſword to him; which having again receiv'd, he carried before him into the city. And having heard two ſermons at *Chriſt-church*, preach'd by Mr. *Goodwin* and Dr. *Owen*, they proceeded to *Grocers-hall* to dinner. The ſpeaker ſat firſt; next to him the lord-mayor; then the earl of *Pembroke* call'd to the lord commiſſioner *Whitelock* to ſit down as the eldeſt commiſſioner of the *Great-ſeal*: *Whitelock* excus'd it, and deſir'd the earl to ſit down firſt: But he ſaid aloud, *What, do you think I will ſit down before you? I have given place heretofore to biſhop* Williams, *to my lord* Coventry, *and to my lord* Littleton; *and you*

And at *London*.

1649. *have the ſame place they had; and as much honour belongs to the place under a commonwealth, as under a king; and you are a gentleman as well born and bred as any of them.* The earl oblig'd *Whitelock* to take precedence of him, and ſat down himſelf next to him; then the lord preſident of the council of ſtate and the other commiſſioners of the *Great-ſeal*; then the earl of *Salisbury* and the lord *Howard*; after them lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, and other members of parliament, and of the council of ſtate, *&c.* The muſick at this feaſt, which was very ſumptuous, was only drums and trumpets; no healths were drank, nor any incivility paſs'd. At this entertainment there was preſented by the city to the lord-general a large and weighty baſon and ewer of beaten gold; and to lieutenant-general *Cromwell* three hundred pounds in plate, and two hundred pieces in gold.

CROMWELL was now juſt entering upon a new ſcene of action, and making preparations for the reducing of *Ireland* to the power of the new commonwealth: But before we deſcribe his memorable exploits in that kingdom, 'twill be proper to take a ſhort view of the poſture of affairs there for ſome time paſt, and the condition they were now in.

Some account of the affairs of *Ireland*, before *Cromwell*'s going over.

THE *Iriſh* rebellion, the moſt barbarous and bloody that was ever executed in any part of the world, in which ſo many thouſand Proteſtants were moſt inhumanly maſſacred, broke out in *October* 1641, which tho' it had been contriv'd with ſuch ſecreſy, and acted with ſuch outrage, yet the city of *Dublin* was wonderfully preſerv'd by Divine Providence, to be an aſylum for ſuch as eſcap'd thither, to avoid the fury of their bloody perſecutors. Many of the poor Proteſtants came over alſo into *England*, hoping there to find ſhelter from the mercileſs enemy: But this proved little comfort to thoſe diſtreſſed ſouls; for here they found, to the increaſe

increaſe of their grief, that *England* was preparing on all ſides to act the ſame upon one another, which the Papiſts had done againſt them in *Ireland*. But tho' the difference between the king and parliament increas'd every day; yet 'twas ſo ordered, that ſome regiments were ſent over into *Ireland*, to ſtop the proceedings of the rebels. After the war had been carry'd on for ſome time in *England*, the king finding his affairs in a declining condition, and that the parliament gain'd ground upon him, he in 1643, order'd the marquis of *Ormond* to make a truce with the *Iriſh*, that he might have the aſſiſtance of thoſe *Engliſh* forces that were in *Ireland*, in his war with the parliament. A ceſſation of arms was accordingly agreed upon; but the *Iriſh* infamouſly broke the articles of it: For the *Engliſh* being now gone over to *England*, they on a ſudden roſe againſt the marquis, and had ſurpriz'd him, if he had not been inform'd before of their deſign, and eſcap'd into *Dublin*: And being in no condition to defend it, but obliged to deliver it up either to the *Engliſh* ſent by the parliament, or to the *Iriſh*, he gave it up to the *Engliſh* (who made colonel *Jones* governor) and came over to the king, at what time he was carry'd from place to place by the army. 1649.

THE marquis had not been long gone, but the treacherous *Iriſh* being terrify'd with the news, that the parliament was ſending over an army thither, requeſted the prince, to whom the marquis had repair'd, to ſend him back, engaging themſelves to ſubmit abſolutely to his majeſty's authority, and to obey the marquis as his lieutenant, and join with him to expel the parliament's forces. The marquis being accordingly arriv'd, entered into moſt diſhonourable articles with the *Iriſh*, who having made a confederacy among themſelves, ſoon became more formidable by the acceſſion of the lord *Inchiquin*, preſident of *Munſter*, and the *Scots* in the province of *Ulſter*. Before the arrival of the

1649. marquis, the pope's nuncio, who had been ſent over to promote the grand rebellion, and had of late behav'd himſelf ſo tyrannically, that he became intolerable even to the *Iriſh* themſelves, was expell'd the kingdom: And now the royaliſts and *Iriſh* being united, *Ireland* ſeem'd in a fair way of being entirely reduc'd to the king's obedience. But *Owen Roe Oneal*, the beſt commander among the *Iriſh*, not liking the articles of the confederacy, refuſed to be included in it, and joining with the parliament's forces relieved *Londonderry*, then beſieged by the lord *Ardes*. *Ormond* however and the confederates having a numerous army, the whole kingdom was almoſt reduced by them, excepting *Londonderry*, govern'd by Sir *Charles Coot*, and *Dublin* the chief city, wherein was colonel *Jones* with no very conſiderable force, beſides that his men were frequently deſerting their colours. The enemy with their formidable army was now marching to beſiege it, and ſent many threatning ſummons, requiring a ſpeedy ſurrender of the place; which notwithſtanding, thro' the vigilance of the governor, held out to the confuſion of the beſiegers. But his preſent difficulties, and the great danger he was in, made him renew his inſtances to the parliament, in the moſt preſſing manner for ſpeedy ſupplies of men and proviſions; declaring, that elſe all would be loſt. Hereupon the parliament, not inſenſible of his condition, began to provide for the relief of *Ireland* with all poſſible expedition: And appointed commiſſary-general *Ireton*, colonel *Scroop*, colonel *Horton*, major-general *Lambert*, with their four regiments of horſe; colonel *Ewer*, colonel *Cook*, colonel *Hewſon*, and colonel *Dean*, with theirs of foot, and five troops of dragoons, all old ſoldiers of the *Engliſh* army, for the ſaid ſervice: And beſides theſe, other regiments were rais'd by beat of drum, to make up a ſufficient force for effectually carrying on ſo great a work.

THE

THE forces being in a great degree of readineſs, the parliament began now to think of a general for this expedition; and having had ſufficient experience of *Cromwell*'s great abilities, and knowing no man ſo fit for the employment, they deſired him to accept of it; who not without ſome ſeeming reluctancy at laſt undertook it, and after many humble expreſſions of his own unworthineſs and diſability to ſupport ſo great a charge, and of the entire reſignation of himſelf to their commands, and abſolute dependance upon God's providence, he acquainted them, that he ſubmitted to their good will and pleaſure, and deſired them to haſten all the neceſſary preparations; "For he confeſs'd that king-"dom to be reduced to ſo great ſtreights, that he "was willing to engage his own perſon, purely "for the difficulties which appeared in the expedi-"tion; and more out of hope to give ſome ob-"ſtruction to the preſent ſucceſs of the rebels, and "to preſerve to the commonwealth ſome footing "in that kingdom, than from any expectation that "he ſhould be able, with his ſtrength, in any ſig-"nal degree to prevail over them." 1649. *Cromwell* accepts of the *Iriſh* ſervice.

THE houſe was ſo well pleas'd with this anſwer, that immediately after, on the 22d of *June*, he had a pompous commiſſion given him in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, to command all forces to be ſent into *Ireland*, and to be lord-governor both as to civil and military affairs in that kingdom, for three years: And colonel *Jones* was made lieutenant-general of the horſe. From the very minute of his receiving this charge, *Cromwell* us'd an incredible expedition in the raiſing of money, providing of ſhipping, and drawing the forces together for this enterprize. The ſoldiers march'd with great ſpeed to the rendezvous at *Milford-Haven*, there to expect the new lord-deputy. He is made lord-lieutenant of *Ireland*.

ABOUT this time, *Cromwell* had a remarkable interview with the lord *Broghill*; who having form'd

1649. His remarkable interview with the lord *Broghill.*

a deſign of deſerting the parliament's ſervice, as the earl of *Inchiquin* had done, came privately to *London*, intending to go to the king in *France*. He was no ſooner come to *London*, but a gentleman came to him from the lord governor *Cromwell*, to acquaint him that he would pay him a viſit, if he knew when he would be at leiſure; at which *Broghill* was exceedingly ſurpriz'd, having never had any acquaintance with him; and told the meſſenger he ſuppos'd he was miſtaken in the perſon he was ſent to: But the gentleman convincing him he was not, the lord *Broghill* own'd who he was, and ſaid he would not give his excellency the trouble to come to him, but he would wait upon him. The meſſenger had not been long gone, before *Cromwell* came himſelf, and after compliments paſs'd, deſired to ſpeak with his lordſhip in private; when he told him, *He had a great reſpect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint him with ſomething that very nearly concerned him, and to give him his advice upon it.* He then told him, *that the council of ſtate were inform'd of his deſign in croſſing the water* (which the lord *Broghill* had communicated to two or three truſty friends only) *that inſtead of going to the* Spaw *he deſigned to go to the king, and take a commiſſion from him to act againſt the parliament in* Ireland: *That the council had good proof of what he ſaid, and could produce copies of his letters to that purpoſe; upon which it was reſolved to ſend him to the* Tower; *which had been done, if himſelf had not prevented it, and obtained time to confer with him, to ſee if he could be induc'd to alter his purpoſe.* The lord *Broghill* ſeeing it would be to no purpoſe to evade the matter, aſk'd *Cromwell*'s pardon, thank'd him for his good offices, and requeſted him to adviſe him. *Cromwell* reply'd, *That the council of ſtate and he were no ſtrangers to his actions in* Ireland; *and the ſubduing of the rebels being committed to him, he was authoriz'd by the council*

council to offer him a general command, if he would ſerve in that war. *Broghill* readily accepted this offer, and gave his word and honour, that he would be faithful to the parliament: And ſo having received a commiſſion to be maſter of the ordnance, and to command in *Munſter*, he embark'd for *Ireland*, where he was no ſooner arriv'd, but ſeveral gentlemen, who had ſerv'd under him in thoſe wars, join'd him; ſo that he ſoon form'd a troop of horſe, and within a little time after, rais'd a regiment of 1500 foot, which were ready to join the lord governour *Cromwell* at his landing. 1649.

His pompous march from *London.*

His excellency having diſpatch'd his buſineſs with the parliament, on the 10th of *July* left *London*, ſetting forward in great ſtate, being drawn in a coach with ſix horſes, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of ſtate, with the chief officers of the army; his life-guard conſiſting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, bravely mounted and accouter'd, both themſelves and ſervants. Thus he was conducted to *Brentford*, where thoſe gentlemen, who accompany'd him, took their leaves, wiſhing a proſperous iſſue to this undertaking; whom he anſwer'd again with great civility and reſpect. From hence he poſted directly for *Briſtol*, to take order for the train of artillery, and many other matters neceſſary for the haſtening his men on ſhipboard.

He ſends ſuccours before him.

FROM *Briſtol* he takes his way into *Wales*, having ſent over three regiments before, *viz.* colonel *Reynolds*'s of horſe, colonel *Venables*'s and colonel *Monk*'s of foot. Theſe were ſhipped from *Cheſter*, and the ports thereabout; and being favour'd with a proſperous gale, quickly arriv'd at the port of *Dublin*, where they were welcom'd with unſpeakable joy and gladneſs. The citizens ſpared for nothing that might be any relief to the ſea-ſick ſoldiers, hoping that the recovery of their health might be a means of enlarging their liberties, who now

1649. now were almoſt wholly confin'd within the narrow compaſs of their city walls. And they were not at all diſappointed of their expectation: For *Jones* having his courage much heighten'd by the coming over of theſe ſupplies, now car'd not for the enemy's bravadoes, but reſolved to remove them farther off; which he in a very little time effected.

By which means *Ormond*'s army is totally routed.

For on the 2d of *Auguſt* he diſcovered a party of the enemy, about fifteen hundred foot beſides horſe, drawn down to their new work at *Baggotrath*, a place about a quarter of a mile eaſtward of the city upon the ſea. Hence they deſign'd to run their trenches towards the city-works, thereby to ſecure thoſe forts which were begun to be rais'd towards the water, that they might hinder the landing of the forces and ſupplies expected from *England*. But *Jones* and *Reynolds*, with the reſt of the commanders in the city, obſerving the enemy's deſign, judged it neceſſary to interrupt them: And ſo preſently drawing out twelve hundred horſe and four thouſand foot, they ſoon enter'd the enemy's new works, and fell upon them with ſo much fury, that they routed the horſe at the firſt charge; and ſoon after cut in pieces the greateſt part of their foot, and took moſt of the reſt priſoners. The report of this diſaſter ſoon reach'd the general *Ormond*'s ears, who was then playing at tables in his tent; and underſtanding alſo, that *Jones* was making towards his main army, *he wiſhed the rebels would come that he might have ſome ſport with them*, and ſo went on with his game: But he was ſoon forced to leave it; for *Jones* with his men following the chaſe to *Rathmims*, where *Ormond*'s camp was, engag'd his whole army, and after two hours fight, totally routed them with a very great ſlaughter. Four thouſand were reckond to be kill'd on the place and in the chaſe, and above two thouſand five hundred taken priſoners, of whom ſeveral were

men

men of quality, and amongſt the reſt *Ormond*'s own brother, himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. They left all their great guns, ammunition, and proviſions, behind them; and withal a rich camp to reward the valiant ſoldiers; who with the ſpoil of it ſo trick'd themſelves up, that when they returned to *Dublin*, many of the officers did not know their own men, they were grown ſo fine. This great victory was obtained with the loſs of few, not above twenty of the parliament's party being miſſing after the fight was over. The ſucceſs was the more remarkable, becauſe unexpected on both ſides; *Jones* with his handful of men being led on ſtep by ſtep to a compleat victory, whereas their utmoſt deſign, at the beginning of the action, was only to beat the enemy from *Baggot-rath*. *Ormond*'s party were ſo ſurpriz'd, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at *Rathfarnham*, for the paying of their army, where *Jones* ſeiz'd four thouſand pounds very ſeaſonably for the payment of his men. The marquis upon this defeat fled to *Kilkenny* with a conſiderable number: Others betook themſelves to *Drogheda* or *Tredah*, whither he ſoon came himſelf with three hundred horſe, and in very good time; for lieutenant-general *Jones* hoping the town might be ſo terrified with this overthrow as to ſurrender, haſtened thither with ſome horſe to ſummon it; but having notice of *Ormond*'s coming, he marched back to *Dublin*. 1649.

Cromwell embarks for *Ireland*.

THE lord-governor *Cromwell* being at *Milford-Haven*, receiv'd the full account of *Ormond*'s defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the loſs of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity what to do. But the clouds being diſpers'd upon the news of the great ſucceſs his party had that he ſent before, he deferr'd not to embark his whole army. On the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, he ſet ſail from *Milford-Haven* with thirty-two ſhips, wherein was the van of his army; *Ireton* ſoon following him with the main body

1649. Arrives at *Dublin.*

body in forty two other veſſels, *Hugh Peters* with twenty ſail bringing up the rear. With a very proſperous wind they ſoon arriv'd at *Dublin*, where they were receiv'd with all poſſible demonſtration of joy, the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations of the people reſounding in every ſtreet. *Cromwell* being come into the city, where the concourſe of the people was very great (they all flocking to ſee him, whom before they had heard ſo much of) at a convenient place he made a ſtand, and with his hat in his hand made a ſpeech to them, telling them, "That as "God had brought him thither in ſafety, ſo he "doubted not but, by his divine providence, to "reſtore them all to their juſt liberties and proper-"ties; and that all thoſe, whoſe hearts and affecti-"ons were real for the carrying on of the great "work againſt the barbarous and blood-thirſty "*Iriſh*, and all their adherents and confederates, "for the propagating of the goſpel of Chriſt, the "eſtabliſhing of truth and peace, and reſtoring "that bleeding nation to its former happineſs and "tranquility, ſhould find favour and protection "from the parliament of *England*, and from him-"ſelf, and withal receive ſuch rewards and gra-"tuities, as ſhould be anſwerable to their merits." This ſpeech was entertain'd with great applauſe by the people, who all cry'd out, *That they would live and die with him.*

CHAP. II.

His actions in Ireland, *and return from thence.*

THE army having refreſh'd themſelves, and the lord-lieutenant having ſettled both the military and civil affairs of *Dublin*, he drew his forces out of the city to a general muſter, where appear'd a compleat body of fifteen thouſand horſe and

and foot; out of which was drawn twelve regiments, containing in all about ten thouſand ſtout reſolute men, for the preſent ſervice. With this army, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, he advanced towards *Tredagh*, a town well fortified, with a garriſon in it of two thouſand five hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir *Arthur Aſhton*, a brave experienced ſoldier. The marquis of *Ormond* had foreſeen, that this place, by reaſon of its neighbourhood and ſituation, would be firſt attempted, it not being likely that the enemy would leave ſo conſiderable a fortreſs behind them; and he was in hopes he ſhould have time to recruit his ſhatter'd army, and repair the loſs of the late defeat, while *Cromwell* ſhould be waſting his forces againſt a town they believ'd could hold out a month, and before that time be reliev'd: But the event ſhew'd how much he was miſtaken. 1649.

CROMWELL was no ſooner come before *Tredagh*, but, obſerving the rules of war, he ſummon'd the governour to ſurrender; which ſummons was ſlighted, and look'd upon rather as a matter of formality, than that he did believe to have the town upon it. Hereupon the lord-governor order'd all things for a quick diſpatch of the ſiege. *Ayſcough*'s ſhips block'd them up by ſea; and on the land, the white flag was taken down, and the red enſign diſplay'd before the town. The beſieged were not much diſmay'd at this, as expecting ſuccour from the marquis of *Ormond*; and they ſeem'd to be unanimous in this reſolution, rather than deliver up the town, to expire with it; as they did not long after. He ſtorms *Tredagh*.

FOR *Cromwell* being ſenſible of the miſchiefs of a long ſiege, like an impatient conqueror, would not ſpend time in the common forms of approaches and turnings; but immediately planted a ſtrong battery, which ſoon levell'd the ſteeple of a church

on

1649. on the *South* ſide of the town, and a towēr that ſtood near it. The next day, the battery continuing, the corner tower between the *Eaſt* and *South* walls was demoliſhed, and two breaches made, which ſome regiments of foot immediately enter'd; but they were not made low enough for the horſe to go in with them. Here the utmoſt bravery was ſhewn on both ſides, the breaches being not more courageouſly aſſaulted than valiantly defended. The enemy within ſo furiouſly charg'd thoſe who firſt enter'd, that they drove them back again faſter than they came in. *Cromwell*, who was all this while ſtanding at the battery, obſerving this, drew out a freſh reſerve of colonel *Ewer*'s foot, and in perſon bravely enter'd with them once more into the town. This example of their general inſpir'd the ſoldiers with ſuch freſh courage, that none were able to ſtand before them; and having now gain'd the town, they made a terrible ſlaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the ſword; *Cromwell* having expreſsly commanded not to ſpare any one that ſhould be found in arms; the deſign of which was to diſcourage other places from making oppoſition; to which purpoſe the lord-governor wrote to the parliament, *That he believ'd this ſeverity would ſave much effuſion of blood.* *Aſton*'s men did not fall unreveng'd, for they fought bravely, and deſperately diſputed every corner of the ſtreets, making the conquerors win what they had by inches. The ſtreets at laſt proving too hot, they fled to the churches and ſteeples, and other places of ſhelter. About an hundred were got into *St. Peter*'s church-ſteeple, reſolving there to ſell their lives at as dear a rate as poſſible; but they were all quickly blown up with gunpowder, only one man eſcaping, who leap'd from the tower: The wind befriending him, he receiv'd no further hùrt by the fall than breaking his leg; which *Cromwell*'s men ſeeing, took him

His bravery and conduct in that action.

him up, and gave him quarter. In other places, when they refus'd to yield upon ſummons, ſtrong guards were immediately put upon them to ſtarve them out; which ſoon had that effect as to make them ſurrender themſelves to the mercy of the conquerors, which was indeed but ſmall; for all the officers were preſently knock'd on the head, and every tenth man of the ſoldiers kill'd, and the reſt thruſt on ſhipboard for *Barbadoes*. The governour Sir *Arthur Aſton*, here likewiſe met his fate, being put to the ſword among the reſt. And thus was this ſtrong place taken and ſack'd in leſs than a week's time, which the rebellious *Iriſh* were three whole years in taking. This great action was ſo ſurprizing, that *O-Neal*, at the hearing of it, ſwore a great oath, *That if* Cromwell *had taken* Tredagh *by ſtorm, if he ſhould ſtorm hell, he would take it.* 1649.

THE diſmal deſtruction of *Tredagh* render'd *Cromwell*'s name formidable to all other places round about. Few of them had ſo much reſolution as to expect a ſummons to ſurrender; and particularly the garriſons of *Trim* and *Dundalk*, fearing the like uſage, abandon'd them to the conqueror. In this laſt place their haſte was ſo great, that they left their great guns behind them, on the platforms. *Cromwell* did not, at that time, carry on his conqueſts any farther northward, but return'd to *Dublin*, and march'd with his army toward *Wexford*, that part lying convenient for ſubſiſting his army in the ſouthern counties. In his march, a place call'd *Killingkerick*, about fourteen miles from *Dublin*, being deſerted by the enemy, he put a party of his men into it. *Arckloe-caſtle* was likewiſe abandon'd, and many other places ſubmitted to him. Many other places ſubmit to him.

ON the 1ſt of *October*, *Cromwell* with his army came before *Wexford*, and ſent a ſummons to the governour, colonel *David Synnot*, requiring a ſpee- He ſtorms *Wexford*.

1649. dy ſurrender. His anſwer was ſomewhat dubious, which occaſion'd many papers to paſs betwixt him and the lord-general *Cromwell*. The governour did this on purpoſe to protract time until the earl of *Caſtlehaven* had thrown a party of five hundred foot into the town to reinforce the garriſon; and having now receiv'd theſe recruits, he reſolv'd to defend the place as long as he could, and ſeem'd to defy all attempts that might be made againſt him. Upon this, *Cromwell* applies himſelf in good earneſt to the work, and bends his greateſt force againſt the caſtle, knowing, that upon the gaining of that, the town muſt ſoon follow. He caus'd a battery to be erected againſt it, whereby a ſmall breach being made, commiſſioners were ſent from the enemy, to treat about a ſurrender. In the mean time the guns continued firing, no ceſſation having been agreed upon; whereby the breach in the caſtle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted their poſt; whereupon ſome of *Cromwell*'s men enter'd the caſtle, and ſet up their colours at the top of it. The enemy obſerving this, quitted their ſtations in all parts, ſo that the others getting over the walls, poſſeſſed themſelves of the town without any great oppoſition, and ſet open the gates for the horſe to enter, tho' they could do but little ſervice, all the ſtreets being barr'd with cables. The town being thus enter'd, none were ſuffer'd to live that were found in arms; and ſo they cut their way thro' the ſtreets, till they came to the market-place, where the enemy fought deſperately for ſome time; but were at laſt quite broken, and all who were found in arms put to the ſword. *Ludlow* ſays, that the foot preſs'd the enemy ſo cloſe, that, crowding to eſcape over the water, they ſo over-loaded the boats, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being eſteem'd by the enemy a place of ſtrength; and ſome ſhips were ſeized in the

the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coaſt. The lord-lieutenant *Cromwell* appointed commiſſioners to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the enemy, that they might be improv'd to the beſt advantage for the publick. The reduction of this place was of very conſiderable advantage to the conquerors, being a port-town, and very convenient for receiving ſupplies from *England*. And the ſeverity that was exercis'd here, had the ſame effect with that us'd before at *Drogheda*; the terror ſpreading into all towns and forts along the coaſt as far as *Dublin*, ſpar'd the general the trouble of ſummoning them. 1649.

THE winter now coming on, and it being a very wet ſeaſon, *Cromwell*'s troops ſuffer'd much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongſt them. Many thought theſe reaſons ſhould have oblig'd him for the preſent to put a ſtop to his conqueſts; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the marquis of *Ormond* met with in bringing a new army into the field, after his late defeat, the ancient diſagreement again breaking out between the *Popiſh* confederates and him, on account of that diſaſter, the ſecret intelligence held by *Cromwell* in the province of *Munſter*, and the mighty affairs that call'd him back over the ſea, ſeem'd to him more powerful motives for continuing the war, than the winter was to interrupt his progreſs.

BEING thus reſolv'd, he marches with his army towards *Roſs*, a ſtrong town upon the *Barrow*. The lord *Taffe* was governour of this place, who had a ſtrong garriſon with him; and the better to ſecure it, *Ormond*, *Caſtlehaven*, and the lord *Ardes*, in their own perſons, caus'd fifteen hundred men more to be boated over to reinforce it, *Cromwell*'s army all the while looking on, without being able to hinder them. However, the lord-governour no

He reduces *Roſs*.

1649. ſooner came before the town, but he ſent the governour a ſummons to this effect, "That ſince his "coming into *Ireland* he ever endeavour'd to a-"void the effuſion of blood, having been before "no place, where he did not firſt ſend them ſuch "terms, as might be for their preſervation; and "to continue the like courſe, he now ſummons "them to deliver up the town to the parliament "of *England*." No anſwer was at preſent return'd to this ſummons, till the great guns began to play; when the governour, being apprehenſive of the ſame uſage that other garriſons had before met with, was willing to treat; which being allow'd, they came to this agreement, "That the town be "deliver'd up to lord-general *Cromwell*, and they "within march away with bag and baggage to *Kil-*"*kenny*." Which fifteen hundred of them accordingly did; but ſix hundred of them being *Engliſh*, revolted to *Cromwell*.

In the mean time *Kingſale*, *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Bandon-bridge*, and other garriſons voluntarily declar'd for the conqueror; which garriſons prov'd of great uſe to the reduction of *Munſter*, and conſequently of all *Ireland*. Sir *Charles Coot* and colonel *Venables* were very ſucceſsful in the north; and the lord *Broghill* and colonel *Hewſon* did good ſervice in other places.

Beſieges *Duncannon*, and retreats from thence.

CROMWELL having made himſelf maſter of *Roſs*, caus'd a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Barrow*, and his army to ſit down before *Duncannon*, a ſtrong fort commanded by colonel *Wogan*: But this place was ſo well provided with all things neceſſary, that it was judg'd it would be time loſt to tarry long before it. And ſo the army quickly roſe, and march'd away into the county of *Kilkenny*; where the marquis of *Ormond*, being join'd by *Inchequin*, ſeem'd reſolv'd to give *Cromwell* battle. His army was ſtrong both in horſe and foot, far ſurpaſſing *Cromwell*'s, which was much weaken'd by

by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diſeaſes. Notwithſtanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of his enemy, drew off without making any attempt, or ſtriking one ſtroke. Upon which, *Eniſtegoe*, a little walled town, about five miles from *Roſs*, was reduc'd by colonel *Abbot*; and colonel *Reynolds*, with twelve troops of horſe, and three of dragoons, march'd up to *Carrick*; where having divided his men into two parts, whilſt he amus'd them with one party, he enter'd a gate with the other, taking about a hundred priſoners, without the loſs of a man. 1649.

THE news hereof being brought to the lord-general *Cromwell*, then at *Roſs*, where he had continued for ſome time indiſpos'd, he immediately march'd away with his army to beſiege *Waterford*, in hopes of gaining that important place before his forces ſhould draw into winter-quarters. Being come before it, he preſently detach'd a regiment of horſe, and three troops of dragoons to reduce *Paſſage-fort*; which party met with the deſir'd ſucceſs, the fort and caſtle, with five great guns, and much arms and ammunition, being ſoon deliver'd up to them. But the ſiege of *Waterford* was not ſo ſucceſsfully carried on; for *Cromwell* perceiving that the city reſolv'd to ſtand upon their own defence, and it being now *December*, and the weather very wet, he thought it moſt adviſable to draw off his army into winter-quarters; where they might be refreſh'd againſt the ſpring, for the better finiſhing of the work they had ſo proſperouſly begun.

His army marches into winter quarters.

IN the mean time, a party of the enemy from *Waterford*, and another from *Duncannon*, joining together, beſieg'd *Paſſage-fort*; but being ſet upon by colonel *Zankey*, they were totally routed, a great many of them being kill'd, and three hundred and fifty taken priſoners. Several other ſkirmiſhes were maintain'd with the like ſucceſs; but the loſs of

1649. lieutenant-general *Jones*, who died about this time at *Wexford*, of a violent fever, ſtruck a damp upon all. He was a man every way bold and daring, of wonderful courage and reſolution, and yet he govern'd his valour with prudence, being not raſh, but adviſ'd in all his attempts: The army had a great loſs of him, and his death was ſoon follow'd by that of colonel *Wolf*, and ſcout-maſter-general *Roe*. Many of the common ſoldiers had likewiſe their ſhare in this mortality, but their numbers were recruited by continual ſupplies ſent from *England* by the parliament. And now alſo the *Iriſh*, as well as the *Britiſh* ſoldiers, under the marquis of *Ormond*, being allur'd by the ſucceſſes, and wrought upon by the invitations of the common-wealth, as alſo deterr'd by the plague that rag'd amongſt them, together with the want of pay and neceſſaries, ran by whole troops to *Cromwell*'s camp; who made very great uſe of the *Iriſh* animoſities, and of the jealouſies between them and *Ormond*. He us'd to ask ſome of the marquis's friends, whom he had taken priſoners, *What the marquis of* Ormond *had to do with* Charles Stuart, *and what obligations he had receiv'd from him*; and then would ſpeak of the hard uſage his grandfather had met with from king *James*, and the long impriſonment he had ſuſtained by him, for not ſubmitting to an extrajudicial determination, and ſaid, *he was confident, if the marquis and he could meet and confer together, they ſhould part very good friends.* And many, who heard theſe diſcourſes, by his permiſſion, gave the marquis information of all he had ſaid.

Many from the enemy revolt to him.

He viſits the ſeveral garriſons.

WHILST the army continued in their winter-quarters, the vigilant and active *Cromwell* would not ſit ſtill, but viſited all the garriſons that were in his poſſeſſion in *Munſter*, and order'd all affairs both military and civil. When he came to *Kingſale*, the mayor of the town (as was uſual in other places) deliver'd to him the mace and keys; which he

he return'd not to him again, but gave them to colonel *Stubber* the governor. This was the more taken notice of, becauſe it had not been us'd by the lord-lieutenant; but the reaſon of this proceeding was, becauſe the mayor was an *Iriſhman*, and alſo a papiſt, and ſo 'twas not judg'd proper to entruſt ſuch a one with the government of ſo important a place. 1649.

ABOUT this time the parliament being apprehenſive of the deſigns that were carrying on againſt them in *Scotland* in favour of the king, and thinking they might have occaſion to make uſe of *Cromwell* for preventing the miſchief that threatned them from thence, reſolv'd that he ſhould be ſent for over into *England*, ordering the ſpeaker to write a letter to him for that purpoſe; but it being towards the latter end of *March* before he receiv'd this letter, and it being not his temper to lie long idle, when he knew he had much to do, he proceeded in his work of reducing *Ireland*, and was very ſucceſsful in it. The month of *January* was hardly expir'd, when the army took the field again in two bodies, which he divided on purpoſe to diſtreſs the marquis of *Ormond*. Himſelf took one party, and another was led by *Ireton*, who march'd away to *Carrick*, in order to reinforce himſelf by the conjunction of colonel *Reynolds*. Theſe were to march into the enemy's quarters two ſeveral ways, and to meet together at a rendezvous near *Kilkenny*. In order to this deſign, *Cromwell* with his party march'd away over the *Blackwater*, towards the counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*. The firſt place reduc'd by him was a caſtle call'd *Kilkenny*, upon the borders of the county of *Limerick*. After that, he took *Cloghern-houſe*, belonging to Sir *Richard Everard*, one of the ſupreme council of the *Iriſh*. From thence he march'd to *Roghill-caſtle*, which upon ſummons was deliver'd up to him. Here with much difficulty he paſs'd the river

He takes the field again.

Several places deliver'd up to him.

1649. ver *Shewr*, and without delay march'd away to *Feathard*, a garriſon town where one *Butler* was governor. Being got into the ſuburbs about ten at night, he ſent a trumpet with a ſummons to the town; but they ſhot at the trumpet, and being inform'd that the lord-lieutenant was with the party, they ſaid, *That it was not a fit time to ſend a ſummons in the night.* Upon this a reſolution being taken to ſtorm, the governor thought fit to ſend two commiſſioners to treat with the lord-lieutenant; and after one night ſpent in the treaty, the town was ſurrender'd the next morning upon articles; which *Cromwell* the more readily granted them, becauſe he had but few foot, and no great guns nor ladders; and ſeventeen companies of the *Ulſter* foot were within five miles of the town. The enemy quitted it in ſome diſorder, after which the magiſtrates ſent a petition to the lord-lieutenant, deſiring his protection.

Feathard ſurrender'd to him upon articles.

He ſtorms and takes *Calan*.

THE forces having a little refreſh'd themſelves at *Feathard*, the general march'd with them from thence to *Calan*, garriſon'd by the enemy. Here he was join'd by *Ireton*, *Reynolds*, and *Zankey*, making up in all a conſiderable body. The chief ſtrength of *Calan* conſiſted in three caſtles that were in the town; and theſe the ſoldiers ſtorm'd one after another, and carry'd them all. Thus the place held out but one day, and paid dear for that ſhort reſiſtance, all who were in arms being put to the ſword, except *Butler*'s troops, which ſurrender'd before the cannon was fired. This ſo terrify'd ſome who defended a houſe about a muſquet-ſhot from the town, that they preſently ſent to deſire liberty to remove to *Kilkenny*; which the lord-general readily granted. The ſoldiers having ſufficiently furniſh'd themſelves with the proviſions they found in the town, march'd back again to *Feathard*, by the way, taking the two caſtles of *Cnoctofer*, and *Bully-nard*; after which ſoon follow'd *Kiltennon*, *Arſen-*

Arſennon, *Coher*, and *Dundrum*, very conſiderable places. 1649.

THE lord-governor *Cromwell* had now entirely ſubdued all places of importance, except *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Clonmell*, *Galloway*, and *Kilkenny*. Theſe were places of great ſtrength, and would take up much time; however, he reſolv'd to attempt the laſt: But fearing the force he had might not be ſufficient to carry on the deſign, he ſent orders to colonel *Hewſon*, the new governor of *Dublin*, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the garriſons of *Wexford*, and the other poſts he had taken on that ſide. Accordingly *Hewſon*, after having taken *Laughlin-Bridge*, join'd the lord-governor's army near *Gowram*, a populous town, defended by a ſtrong caſtle, whereof one *Hammond* a *Kentiſh-man* was governor. Being ſummoned to deliver it up, he return'd a very reſolute anſwer, having great confidence in the valour of his men, who were *Ormond*'s own regiment. Upon this, the great guns began to play, and did ſuch furious execution, that he ſoon thought it time for him to beat a parley: But it was now too late; for he could obtain no other conditions than theſe, "That "the common ſoldiers ſhould have their lives, and "the officers be diſpos'd of as ſhould be thought "fit." The place being thus delivered up, to which *Hammond* was enforc'd by the ſedition of the ſoldiers, he and all the commiſſion-officers but one, were the next day ſhot to death; and the prieſt, who was chaplain to the popiſh ſoldiers in the regiment, hanged.

Reduces *Gowram*.

AFTER this, the lord-governor proceeds in his deſign of beſieging the city of *Kilkenny*. The garriſon there required a more than ordinary ſtrength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforc'd by thoſe who had ſurrender'd upon articles the ſmall towns and caſtles in that county. But *Cromwell*, not at all diſcourag'd at this, on the 22d of

Beſieges and takes *Kilkenny*.

1650. of *March*, ſent firſt of all a ſmall party of horſe before to make diſcovery, and ſhortly after came up with his whole force. Being advanc'd within a mile of the city, he made a ſtand, and ſent a ſummons to Sir *Walter Butler* the governour, and the corporation, to deliver up the city, for the uſe of the parliament of *England*. The anſwer which was return'd the next day not being ſatisfactory, *Cromwell* made his approaches near to the wall, and caus'd a battery to be erected in the moſt convenient place for annoying the beſieged, and opening an entrance to the beſiegers. In the mean time the beſieged were not idle; but obſerving where the enemy bent his greateſt ſtrength, endeavour'd there to make the greateſt oppoſition, by raiſing two retrenchments within, ſtrongly palliſading them, and placing ſome pieces that might play to the beſt advantage. *Cromwell* however, having made all the neceſſary preparations, fell furiouſly to battering the walls; whereby, after making about an hundred ſhot, a breach was open'd. In the mean while, colonel *Ewer*, with a thouſand foot, was order'd to attempt another part of the city, called *Iriſh-town*; and the better to facilitate this enterprize, the ſoldiers were order'd to attack the foremention'd breach; which they accordingly did, but were forc'd to retreat with loſs. However, the deſign took effect; for by this means the whole ſtrength of the enemy was held in play, while colonel *Ewer* with his party gain'd *Iriſh-town*; which they did with very little loſs. There was on the other ſide of the river another ſmall town, or ſuburbs to the main city, and it was thought convenient to ſend eight companies of foot to poſſeſs themſelves of it; which was done without any oppoſition: And this animated them to endeavour to force a paſſage over the bridge into the city; but the ſame misfortune happen'd as before at the breach. However, theſe deſperate attempts occaſion'd the governour to reflect more

ſeriouſly

ſeriouſly upon his preſent circumſtances; for the garriſon in *Cantwel-caſtle*, whom he had ſent for, had deſired paſſes of the lord-governour *Cromwell* to go beyond ſea, and enter themſelves into the ſervice of foreign princes, engaging never to act againſt the parliament of *England*; which requeſt *Cromwell* granted them. But that which moſt of all diſcourag'd the governour, was, that he muſt not only defend himſelf, but muſt alſo be his own relief, there being no army in the field ſufficient for that purpoſe. Theſe things, together with the conſideration, that the longer he ſtood out the worſe he would fare, induc'd him to enter into a treaty; and after a day's debate, they came to an agreement upon the following terms: "*Firſt*, That the city and caſtle ſhould "be deliver'd up to the lord-governour *Cromwell*, "with all the arms, ammunition, and publick ſtores. "*Secondly*, The inhabitants of *Kilkenny* to be pro- "tected in their perſons, goods, and eſtates, from "the violence of the ſoldiery; and ſuch as had a "mind to remove, to have liberty ſo to do, three "months after the date of the articles. *Thirdly*, "The governour, officers, and ſoldiers to march "away with bag and baggage. *Fourthly*, The city "to pay two thouſand pounds as a gratuity to his "excellency the lord *Cromwell*'s army." 1650.

THUS was the city of *Kilkenny*, which had been the nurſery of the late rebellion, and the reſidence of the ſupreme council, reduc'd to the parliament's obedience in leſs than a week's time, and that chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable induſtry of the lord general *Cromwell*; who would always bear a ſhare in the hardſhips his ſoldiers were expos'd to, and never flinch from them at any time when his perſonal valour was neceſſary; ſo that he frequently laid aſide the dignity of a great commander, to act the part of a private ſoldier.

CROMWELL ſtay'd no longer at *Kilkenny* than was neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of that city; after

1650. after which he march'd with the army to *Carrick*, from thence to proceed upon further action. Here he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker of the parliament, giving a particular account of the taking of *Kilkenny*, and ſeveral other places of leſs importance. And then concerning his coming over into *England*, he confeſs'd he had receiv'd many private intimations of the parliament's pleaſure, as to that matter, and copies of their votes; but all theſe were but private intimations. He ſaid, that he receiv'd not the ſpeaker's letter till *March* 22d, which was dated *Jan.* 8. and then ſuppoſed the army to be in winter-quarters, and the time of the year not ſuitable for preſent action: Upon which he concludes thus; "Making this as the reaſon of your command (*viz.* "the army being in winter-quarters, *&c.*) and "your forces having been in action ever ſince "*Jan.* 29. and your letter which was to be the "rule of my obedience, coming to my hands after "our having been ſo long in action, with reſpect "had to the reaſons you were pleas'd to uſe there-"in; and having receiv'd a letter, ſigned by your-"ſelf of the 26th of *Feb.* which mentions not a "word of the continuance of your pleaſure con-"cerning my coming over; I did humbly conceive "it much conſiſted with my duty, humbly to beg "a poſitive ſignification, what your will is; pro-"feſſing (as before the Lord) that I am moſt ready "to obey your commands herein, with all alacri-"ty; rejoicing only to be about that work which "I am called to by thoſe whom God hath ſet over "me, which I acknowledge to be you; and fear-"ing only in obeying you, to diſobey you. I "moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech you to judge "for me, whether your letter doth not naturally "allow me the liberty of begging a more clear ex-"preſſion of your command and pleaſure; which "when vouchſafed to me, will find moſt ready "and chearful obſervance from, *&c.*"

His letter to the parliament.

ABOUT

ABOUT this time, the marquis of *Ormond*, the lord *Caſtlehaven*, and the biſhop of *Clogher*, reflecting on the deſperate condition of their affairs, appointed a meeting in *Weſt-Meath*, with the gentlemen of that county, to conſider of ſome better way to ſupport their cauſe, which was now almoſt ruin'd every where. In this meeting *Ormond* propos'd; "*Firſt*, Whether they were able "to raiſe ſuch forces, as might be ſufficient to "engage with *Cromwell*. *Secondly*, In caſe they "were not able to fight, whether it were not ne- "ceſſary with all the forces they could make, to "fall into the *Engliſh* quarters, and there to "burn and deſtroy what they could, that they "might not be able to ſubſiſt. *Thirdly*, If this were "not feaſible, then whether it were not moſt con- "venient for them all to join in ſome propoſitions "of peace for the whole kingdom; or every one "for himſelf, to make his particular application." This laſt expedient was moſt approv'd of by ſome; but the chief of them being conſcious of their own guilt thought they were not very likely to obtain good conditions, when neceſſity oblig'd them to be ſupplicants; and therefore to moleſt the *Engliſh* in their quarters was judg'd to be moſt adviſeable for them all, thereby to protract time, till they ſhould have a fit opportunity to eſcape out of the kingdom. 1650. *Ormond* in great diſtreſs.

THE lord-lieutenant having well refreſh'd his army after the ſiege of *Kilkenny*, march'd from *Carrick*, and ſat down before *Clonmell*, another conſiderable place, in which was a garriſon of two thouſand foot, and a hundred and twenty horſe. No ſooner was the ſiege form'd but colonel *Reynolds* and Sir *Theophilus Jones* were order'd to march away with a detatchment of two thouſand five hundred horſe, foot, and dragoons, to prevent *Ormond*'s deſign of falling into the parliament's quarters; and notice hereof being ſent to Sir *Cromwell* beſieges *Clonmell*.

Charles

1650. *Charles Coot*, he thereupon took the field with three thouſand men. But the enemy ſhifting from place to place to avoid fighting, colonel *Reynolds*, that his men might not remain idle, beſieged *Tecrogham*. In the mean time, the lord *Broghill* being detatch'd with another party of one thouſand four hundred horſe and dragoons, and one thouſand two hundred foot, to fight the biſhop of *Roſs*, who with five thouſand men, was marching to relieve *Clonmell*, he ſoon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about ſeven hundred upon the place, taking twenty captains, lieutenants, and other officers; as alſo the biſhop himſelf with the ſtandard of the church of *Munſter*. The lord *Broghill*'s horſe are ſaid to have done the ſervice before the foot came up, and at ſuch a paſs, where a hundred muſqueteers might have repell'd all the horſe in *Ireland*. The biſhop was carried to a caſtle which was kept by his own forces, and there hang'd before the walls, in the ſight of the garriſon; who were ſo diſmay'd at it, that they immediately ſurrender'd the caſtle to the parliament's forces. This biſhop us'd to ſay, *There was no way to ſecure the* Engliſh, *but by hanging them*; and now himſelf met with the ſame fate.

Lord *Broghill* defeats the biſhop of *Roſs*.

And hangs him.

THESE advantages were a great encouragement to thoſe who lay before *Clonmell*; which the lord-lieutenant us'd more than ordinary induſtry to reduce, underſtanding that its defenders were very unanimous, and withal choice men, well armed, and in all reſpects prepar'd to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Beſides, it was govern'd by an active *Iriſhman*, one *Hugh O-Neal*, who had employ'd all hands in the town for caſting up new counterſcarps on the inſide of the old walls, and doing every thing elſe that might tend to ſecure the place; ſo that it ſeem'd impoſſible to gain it by aſſault.

HOWEVER, the valiant and active *Cromwell*, whoſe buſineſs now requir'd a quick diſpatch, in regard

regard that his ſervice was likely very ſoon to be wanted elſewhere, reſolved to try that courſe: And ſo having ſummon'd the governor to ſurrender, and receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, he order'd the great guns to be planted; which did ſuch noble execution, that a breach was very ſoon open'd, which the beſiegers, upon a ſignal given, couragiouſly enter'd, and met with as gallant a reſiſtance from the beſieged; notwithſtanding which the former made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together, with doubtful ſucceſs, there being a great ſlaughter on both ſides: But at laſt the enemy was forced to quit the place, and betake themſelves to flight; and tho' they were very much favour'd by ſome hills near the town, yet could they not eſcape the fury of the victorious ſoldiers, who killed many of them in the purſuit. An eminent commander in the army, who was himſelf in this fight, gave this account of it: "That they found in *Clonmell* the ſtouteſt "enemy that ever was found by the army in *Ire-*"*land*; and it was his opinion, and of many "more, that there was never ſeen ſo hot a ſtorm "of ſo long a continuance, and ſo gallantly de-"fended, neither in *England* nor *Ireland*." The ſubduing of this place, though with ſo much difficulty, made ſuch an impreſſion on many more, that in a very little time they ſubmitted without ſo much as ſtriking a ſtroke.

1650.

Clonmell taken by ſtorm.

WHILE *Cromwell* was thus conquering in one part of *Ireland*, *Coot* and *Venables* had the like ſucceſs in another, and brought all the north under his obedience: The biſhop of *Clogher* was here entirely routed, and being taken priſoner, met with the ſame fate as the biſhop of *Roſs*; and in this fight three thouſand of the old *Iriſh* rebels were ſlain.

Other ſucceſſes in *Ireland*.

THUS the lord-lieutenant was on all hands attended with ſucceſs; and he gave a conſtant account

1650. count of his proceedings to the parliament and council of ſtate, in all his letters exhorting them *to give the glory unto God, to whom it was only due.* His proceeding ſo proſperouſly in his affairs, and obtaining thereby ſo great a ſway, occaſioned a book to be diſperſed about this time, entituled, *The character of king* Cromwell; which, though ſuppreſs'd for a libel, is ſaid to have been even receiv'd as a kind of prophecy. And indeed by the good government of the army, in *Ireland*, and the great ſucceſs of it, and the well ordering of the civil affairs of that kingdom, *Cromwell* obtained a very great intereſt, not only in the officers of the army, both there and here, but likewiſe in the parliament and council of ſtate, and all their party; only the *Scots* and Preſbyterians were generally no favourers of him or his proceedings. He was now preparing to take *Waterford* and *Duncannon*, which he had miſs'd of before; and had actually block'd up *Waterford*, when about the middle of *May*, he was by a new order, or rather requeſt of the parliament, obliged to leave the finiſhing of his ſo far extended conqueſts to his ſon-in-law *Ireton*, whom, for that purpoſe, he conſtituted lord-deputy. He had been in *Ireland* about nine months; a very inconſiderable time, if we reſpect the great work he perform'd therein, which was more than ever any king or queen of *England* was able to do in ſo many years before.

Cromwell appoints *Ireton* his deputy.

All *Ireland* in a manner reduced by him.

WATERFORD was ſurrender'd ſoon after his departure; and ſo remarkable was the parliament's ſucceſs in all parts of that kingdom, through the active valour, prudence, and induſtry of the lord-lieutenant *Cromwell*, and thoſe whom he employ'd under him, that in leſs than a year's time, they were maſters of all but *Limerick*, *Galloway*, and ſome few garriſons and forces on the *Faſtneſſes*. Before the lord-governor left the iſle, that he might the better weaken the *Iriſh*, he contriv'd

triv'd means for tranſporting no leſs than forty thouſand of them out of the nation, into the ſervice of foreign princes; of whom few ever return'd again to their native country: So great a ſcourge was he to that rebellious and blood-thirſty generation. 1650.

CROMWELL having appointed *Ireton* his deputy, and viſited thoſe places in *Munſter*, which had lately ſubmitted to the parliament, with deſign to ſettle the civil as well as military affairs of that province; for which end he made *John Coke*, Eſq; chief juſtice of *Munſter*; and having order'd all things in the beſt manner that was poſſible, he embark'd for *England*, and ſailed home, as 'twere, in triumph. After a boiſterous paſſage, he landed at *Briſtol*, where the great guns were fir'd thrice over at his arrival, and he was welcom'd with many other demonſtrations of joy. Hence, without delay, he poſts for *London*; and on *Hounſlow-heath*, was met by the lord-general *Fairfax*, many members of parliament and officers of the army, and multitudes of people, who came out of curioſity to ſee him, who had made himſelf ſo famous, and acquir'd ſuch high renown by his great and valiant actions. Being thus attended, he proceeds on, and coming to *Hyde-park* is ſaluted with great guns, and ſeveral vollies of ſhot from colonel *Barkſtead*'s regiment, which was drawn up in the way for that purpoſe. Thus in a triumphant manner he enter'd the city of *London*, amidſt a croud of attendants, friends, citizens, *&c.* and was receiv'd with great demonſtrations of joy. Here 'tis obſerv'd, that as he did not refuſe the honours that were paid to him on this occaſion, ſo he ſhew'd he had too much good ſenſe to make much account of them; for as he was paſſing by *Tyburn*, a certain flatterer pointing to the crowds of people that came to meet him, and ſaying, *See what a multitude of people come to attend your triumph*; he

His triumphant return to *England*.

1650. anſwer'd with a ſmile and very unconcern'd, *More would come to ſee me hang'd.* Being conducted to the *Cock-pit*, which had been prepared for his reception, the lord-mayor and aldermen of *London*, and many other perſons of quality, paid their viſits to him, congratulating the ſafe arrival of his excellency, and expreſſing their own and the nation's great obligations to him. Having reſumed his place in parliament, the ſpeaker in an elegant ſpeech gave him the thanks of the houſe, for the great and faithful ſervices he had perform'd for the common-wealth in the nation of *Ireland:* After which the lord-lieutenant gave them a full and particular account of the preſent ſtate and condition of that country.

Ireton's death and character.

AND here, as it will not fall in my way in the remaining part of this hiſtory, I ſhall conclude this chapter with the death and character of the lord-deputy *Ireton*, who died about a year and a half after *Cromwell*'s departure. He had proceeded very ſucceſsfully in his new government and command; and after the taking of ſeveral places, giving articles to ſome, and making examples of others, he attempted the ſtrong city of *Limerick*, which after a long ſiege, at laſt ſurrender'd to him: But falling ſick of the plague here ſhortly after, he ended his days on the 26th of *November*, 1651. This man has been highly extolled by ſome, and as much condemn'd by others. So far as we have had occaſion to mention him in this hiſtory, we have given as juſt an account of his actions and proceedings as we could; wherein the reader muſt be left to cenſure or acquit him as he ſhall think fit, after we have given this ſhort character of him from *Whitelock*, who ſeems the moſt impartial: "This gentleman, "ſays he, was a perſon very active and induſtri-"ous (or, as he ſays elſewhere, a man of in-"duſtry and invention) and ſtiff in his ways and

"pur-

" purpoſes: He was of good abilities for counſel " as well as action; and made much uſe of his " pen, and was very forward to reform the pro- " ceedings in law, wherein his having been bred " a lawyer was an help to him. He was ſtout in " the field, and wary and prudent in his counſel, " and exceedingly forward as to the buſineſs of a " *common-wealth.* He married *Cromwell*'s daugh- " ter, who had a great opinion of him; and no " man could prevail ſo much, nor order him ſo " far as *Ireton* could. His death ſtruck a great " ſadneſs into *Cromwell*; and indeed it was a " great loſs to him, of ſo able and active, ſo " faithful, and ſo near a relation, and officer un- " der him." The new commonwealth had alſo a great loſs by his death; who, to expreſs their gratitude for his important ſervices, order'd his body to be brought over to *England*; where having firſt lain in ſtate in *Somerſet-houſe*, he was interr'd at *Weſtminſter* among the *Engliſh* kings, with the greateſt pomp and magnificence. 1650.

CHAP. III.

From Cromwell's *return out of* Ireland, *to the battle of* Dunbar.

IN leſs than a month after the lord-lieutenant's return from his conqueſts in *Ireland*, he was employ'd by the parliament in a new expedition againſt the *Scots*; who, upon the king's death, had proclaim'd his ſon prince *Charles*, king of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and ſent commiſſioners to him at the *Hague*, to invite his majeſty into *Scotland*, or rather to acquaint him upon what terms he might come thither: For though they had declar'd his right to ſucceſſion, yet before he ſhould be admitted to the exerciſe

The *Scots* treat with king *Charles* II.

1650. of his royal power, he was to "Give ſatisfaction "to the kingdom in thoſe things which concern'd "the ſecurity of religion, the unity betwixt the "kingdoms, and the good and peace of that king-"dom, according to the *national covenant*, and "the *ſolemn league and covenant.*" Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the king began to perceive, that the States-general were very uneaſy at his continuance in their dominions, fearing it might give ſome umbrage to the *Engliſh* commonwealth, with whom they had no mind to break. They gave daily intimations, *That the king's reſiding at the* Hague, *would be very inconvenient for them*; and 'twas owing wholly to the great intereſt and dexterity of the prince of *Orange*, that they did not ſend a meſſage directly to deſire him to depart. However, the king reſolv'd to remove; and an accident happen'd at this time, which haſten'd that reſolution; which was the aſſaſſination of Dr. *Doriſlaus* at the *Hague*. This man had been concern'd in the late king's trial; and being ſent as an agent from *England*, for the begetting and continuing a right underſtanding and fair correſpondence betwixt the two Republicks, while he was at ſupper in his lodgings, with many others at the table, ſix men enter'd the room with their ſwords drawn, and bid thoſe at the table not ſtir, *for they intended no harm to any but the agent, who came from the rebels in* England, *who had lately murdered their king*. Hereupon one *Whiteford* pulled *Doriſlaus* from the table, and killed him at his feet, ſaying, *Thus dies one of the regicides:* And ſo putting up their ſwords, they went quietly out of the houſe, and eſcaped unpuniſhed, though the States pretended they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get them apprehended.

Dr. *Doriſlaus* murder'd at the *Hague*.

The king left the *Hague* in *May*, 1649, taking his journey into *France*, where he ſtaid ſome months with the queen his mother at *St. Germains*;

But

But the court of *France* growing uneaſy at his continuance there, he at length embark'd for the iſle of *Jerſey*, which together with *Guernſey*, *Man*, and *Scilly*, had not yet ſubmitted to the parliament. 1650.

The *Scots* proceed in their treaty with the king.

IT was no ſooner known in *Scotland*, that the king was arrived at *Jerſey*, but Sir *George Windram*, laird of *Libberton*, was ſent with a meſſage to him; who, in the beginning of *October*, preſented the following deſires and offers of the States of *Scotland*: *Firſt*, "That he would ſign the *co-*
"*venant*, and paſs an act for all perſons to take
"it, *Secondly*, That he would paſs the acts of
"parliament in *Scotland*, which were ratified by
"their two laſt ſeſſions. *Thirdly*, That he would
"withdraw his commiſſion from the marquis of
"*Montroſs*. *Fourthly*, That he would put away
"all Papiſts from about him. *Fifthly*, That
"he would appoint ſome place in *Holland* to
"treat with commiſſioners from the eſtates of
"*Scotland*. *Sixthly*, That he would give a ſpeedy
"anſwer."

ABOUT this time, the rulers in *England* having prepar'd a fleet againſt the iſle of *Jerſey*, it was judged neceſſary for his majeſty to leave that place, and return through *France* to *Breda*. Here he fell into new treaties with the *Scotch* commiſſioners, who waiting on him about the latter end of *March*, inſiſted on his compliance with the following propoſitions from the kirk and States of *Scotland*: *Firſt*, "That all excommunicated per-
"ſons ſhould be forbid acceſs to the court, *Se-*
"*condly*, That the king would by ſolemn oath,
"and under his hand and ſeal, declare his allow-
"ance of the *national covenant* of *Scotland*, and
"of the *ſolemn league and covenant* of the three
"nations. *Thirdly*, That he ſhould confirm all
"acts of parliament, enjoining the ſolemn league
"and covenant, eſtabliſhing *Presbytery*, the *di-*

1650. "*rectory*, the *confeſſion of faith* and *catechiſm* in "the kingdom of *Scotland*, as they are already "approved by the general aſſembly of the kirk, "and the parliament; and that he would obſerve "the ſame in his own family, and ſwear never "to oppoſe, or endeavour the alteration of the "ſame. *Fourthly*, That he would conſent, that "all civil matters might be determined by the "preſent and ſubſequent parliaments in *Scotland*, "and all matters eccleſiaſtical, by the general aſ- "ſembly of the kirk."

Unfortunate expedition of the marquis of *Montroſs*.

WHILE the king was conſulting with his friends what was beſt to be done in this exigency, an accident happened that had like to have broke off the treaty. Whilſt his majeſty reſided at the *Hague*, the marquis of *Montroſs* waited on him, and undertook, if he would follow his advice, to reſtore him to his kingdoms by force of arms. He only deſir'd of the king power to act in his name, and a ſupply in money, with a letter reccommending him to the king of *Denmark* for ſome ſhips, and ſuch arms as he could ſpare.

ALL theſe being granted by the king, and preparations made for the expedition, *Montroſs*, with no more than ſix or ſeven hundred men, in four ſhips, reſolv'd to venture his fortune, expecting to join with the northern people in *Scotland*, who had formerly experienc'd his great bravery and conduct. He got firſt to the iſlands of *Orkney*, and from thence into the *Highlands*; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken, *Leſle*, having ordered colonel *Straughan* to advance towards him, with three hundred choice horſe; who in *April*, 1650, ſet upon this ill compoſed body of *Montroſs*, and utterly routed them. *Montroſs* fled, but was at laſt betray'd by one of thoſe to whom he intruſted himſelf, *Mackland* of *Aſſin*, and was brought priſoner to *Edinburgh*. He was carried through the ſtreets with the moſt brutal

brutal infamy that could be devis'd, and in a few days, by a ſentence pronounced by the lord *Lowden*, was hanged upon a gibbet thirty foot high for three hours; after which he was quartered, and his head ſet upon the *Talbooth*, and his legs and arms over the gates of *Sterling*, *Glaſcow*, *Dundee*, and *Aberdeen*. His behaviour under all his ſufferings was as great and firm to the laſt, as the fury of the covenanters againſt him was black and univerſally deteſted. 1650.

THE violent party in *Scotland* were hereupon for breaking off the treaty with the king, though by the date of the marquis's commiſſion, it appeared to have been granted before the treaty commenc'd: However, it was carried not to recal their commiſſioners. On the other hand, one would think that this cruelty to one who had acted by his commiſſion, would effectually have prevented the king from complying with them. But he was in no condition to ſtruggle with theſe men, and ſo quickly yielded to all their demands. And being furniſhed with ſome *Dutch* men of war by the prince of *Orange*, he embark'd for *Scotland*; where he landed on the 16th of *June*, after a demand from the council, *That he would ſign both the* covenants *before he ſet his feet on the ſhore*; to which he was perſuaded to conſent. He tarried ſeveral days at *Dundee*, attended with one committee from the parliament, and another from the kirk, who were urging his majeſty to ſign ſeveral propoſitions, and before he comply'd, would not agree to his coming to *Edinburgh* to be crowned.

The king arrives in *Scotland*.

THE parliament and committee of eſtate were likewiſe endeavouring to raiſe an army for the king's ſervice, as they alledg'd, and to that end had publiſh'd an act for training of every fourth man, who was able to bear arms throughout the kingdom. With this army 'twas ſuppos'd they intended to invade *England*, and ſecure the eſta-

An army rais'd by the *Scots*.

1650. bliſhment of the king in his throne. The preachers were very earneſt in their perſuaſions to engage the people in this cauſe; and notwithſtanding the ſeveral obſtructions they met with, by reaſon of their diviſions among themſelves, they compleated their levies to about ſixteen thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe. The king was ſuffer'd to come once and ſee this army, but not to ſtay in it; for they fear'd he might gain too much upon the ſoldiers. Special care was taken not to ſuffer *malignants* or *engagers*, as they call'd the *Hamiltonian* party, to be in this army. All who deſerted their cauſe, or were thought indifferent as to either ſide, which they call'd *deteſtable neutrality*, were put out of commiſſion. And now the preachers, thinking they had got an army of ſaints, ſeem'd well aſſur'd of ſucceſs.

WHILST theſe tranſactions and preparations were carrying on in *Scotland*, the commonwealth of *England* took great care to provide for its own ſupport and ſecurity. To this end, as has been already mentioned, before the king landed in *Scotland*, it was thought neceſſary to ſend for the lord-lieutenant *Cromwell* out of *Ireland*; who immediately adviſed the council of ſtate, not to be behind hand with their enemy, nor to truſt to any after-game, but to prevent the *Scots* invaſion of *England*, by carrying the war directly into *Scotland*. But ſome ſcrupulous men amongſt them objected, *That to begin a war with* Scotland *would be contrary to the covenant:* To which it was anſwer'd, "That the *Scots* had already broken the covenant, "and that therefore it was not now binding on the "one ſide, after it had been diſſolv'd on the o-"ther." So that they came at length to this reſolution, "That having a formed army, well pro-"vided and experienced, they would march it "forthwith into *Scotland*, to prevent the *Scots* "marching into *England*, and the miſeries that "might

Cromwell adviſes to invade Scotland.

" might attend ſuch an invaſion." The lord-general *Fairfax*, being adviſ'd with herein, ſeem'd at firſt to like the deſign; but being afterwards hourly perſuaded by the Preſbyterian miniſters, and his own lady, who was a great patroneſs of them, he declared, *That he was not ſatisfy'd, that there was a juſt ground for the parliament of* England, *to ſend their army to invade* Scotland; *but in caſe the* Scots *ſhould invade* England, *then he was ready to engage againſt them in defence of his own country.* The council of ſtate being ſomewhat troubled at the lord-general's ſcruples, appointed a committee to confer with him, in order to ſatisfy him of the juſtice and lawfulneſs of this undertaking. This committee were *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *St. John*, *Whitelock*, &c. *Cromwell* open'd the conference; and after ſome previous diſcourſe between the lord-general and the committee, his excellency acquainted them with the ground of his diſſatisfaction, declaring, *That he did not ſee that the* Scots *had given ſufficient cauſe for this invaſion of their country by the* Engliſh. Upon which *Cromwell* proceeded thus: " I confeſs, my lord, that if " they have given us no cauſe to invade them, it " will not be juſtifiable for us to do it; and to " make war upon them without a ſufficient ground " for it, will be contrary to that which in con- " ſcience we ought to do, and diſpleaſing both " to God and good men. But, my lord, if they " have invaded us, as your lordſhip knows they " have done ſince the national league and cove- " nant, and contrary to it, in that action of duke " *Hamilton*, which was by order and authority " from the parliament of that kingdom, and ſo " the act of the whole nation by their repreſenta- " tives; and if they now give us too much cauſe " of ſuſpicion, that they intend another invaſion " upon us, joining with their king, with whom " they have made a full agreement, without the " aſſent

1650.

His ſpeech in the committee, for ſatisfying the general.

1650. " aſſent or privity of this common-wealth; and " are very buſy at this preſent in raiſing forces " and money to carry on their deſign: If theſe " things are not a ſufficient ground and cauſe for " us to endeavour to provide for the ſafety of our " own country, and to prevent the miſeries which " an invaſion of the *Scots* would bring upon us, I " humbly ſubmit it to your excellency's judgment. " That they have formerly invaded us, and brought " a war into the bowels of our country, is known " to all, wherein God was pleas'd to bleſs us with " ſucceſs againſt them: And that they now in- " tend a new invaſion upon us, I do as really be- " lieve, and have as good intelligence of it, as we " can have of any thing that is not yet acted. " Therefore I ſay, my lord, that upon theſe " grounds, I think we have a moſt juſt cauſe to " begin, or rather to return and requite their hoſ- " tility firſt begun upon us; and thereby to free " our country (if God ſhall be pleas'd to aſſiſt us, " and I doubt not but he will) from the great mi- " ſery and calamity of having an army of *Scots* " within our country. That there will be a war " between us, I fear is unavoidable: Your excel- " lency will ſoon determine, whether it be better " to have this war in the bowels of another coun- " try, or of our own; and that it will be in one " of them, I think it without ſcruple." But no arguments could prevail on the general, who de- clar'd that his conſcience was not ſatisfy'd as to the juſtice of this war; and therefore, that he might be no hindrance to the parliament's deſigns, he deſir'd to lay down his commiſſion. Upon which *Cromwell* ſpoke again, as follows:

" I am very ſorry your lordſhip ſhould have " thoughts of laying down your commiſſion, by " which God hath bleſſed you in the performance " of ſo many eminent ſervices for the parliament. " I pray, my lord, conſider all your faithful ſer-

" vants,

" vants, us who are officers, who have ſerv'd un- 1650.
" der you, and deſire to ſerve under no other ge-
" neral. It would be a great diſcouragement to
" all of us, and a great diſcouragement to the af-
" fairs of the parliament, for our noble general to
" entertain any thoughts of laying down his com-
" miſſion. I hope your lordſhip will never give
" ſo great an advantage to the publick enemy,
" nor ſo much diſhearten your friends, as to think
" of laying down your commiſſion." But all this would not do: The general ſtill continued in the ſame mind, and concluded thus: " What would
" you have me do? As far as my conſcience will
" give way, I am willing to join with you ſtill in
" the ſervice of the parliament; but where the
" conſcience is not ſatisfy'd, none of you, I am
" ſure, will engage in any ſervice; and that is my
" condition in this, and therefore I muſt deſire to
" be excuſed."

CROMWELL and the other officers in this committee were moſt earneſt in perſuading the general to continue his commiſſion; and yet 'tis ſaid, there was cauſe enough to believe that they did not over-much deſire it. *Ludlow* ſays, that *Cromwell* preſs'd the council of ſtate, " That notwithſtand-
" ing the unwillingneſs of the lord *Fairfax* to com-
" mand upon this occaſion, they would yet conti-
" nue him to be general of the army, profeſſing
" for his own part, *That he would rather chuſe to*
" *ſerve under him in his poſt than to command the*
" *greateſt army in* Europe." He alſo informs us, that the forementioned committee was appointed upon the motion of lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, *Who*, ſays he, *acted his part ſo to the life, that I really thought him in earneſt.* And indeed, if he had not been in earneſt, I do not think he would have us'd the moſt likely arguments to convince the general of the lawfulneſs of the deſigned expedition,

1650. dition, and to prevail on him to continue his commiſſion; as he certainly did.

THE committee having made their report to the council of ſtate, of all that had paſs'd, and acquainted them with the lord-general's total averſeneſs to march with the army into *Scotland*; and this being order'd to be again reported to the parliament, new endeavours were us'd to prevail on his excellency, but without ſucceſs; and ſhortly after he thought fit to reſign his commiſſion. But the parliament were not much at a loſs for one to ſucceed in that great office; for having ſufficiently experienc'd the valour, conduct, and faithfulneſs of lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, they ſoon voted, *nomine contradicente*, that he ſhould be their general; and ſo an act paſs'd, *For conſtituting and appointing* Oliver Cromwell, *Eſq*; *to be captain-general in chief of all the forces rais'd, and to be rais'd, by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of* England.

Fairfax laying down his commiſſion, *Cromwell* is made general in his room.

A DAY or two after, there was a private conference between general *Cromwell* and colonel *Ludlow*; the occaſion whereof was this: The general told *Ludlow*, as he ſat by him in the houſe, that having obſerv'd an alteration in his looks and carriage towards him, he apprehended that he had entertain'd ſome ſuſpicions of him; and being perſuaded of the tendency of both their deſigns to the good of the publick, he deſir'd that a meeting might be appointed, wherein they might freely lay open the grounds of their miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, and a foundation might be laid for a good underſtanding between them for the future. *Ludlow* anſwer'd, that he diſcover'd in him what he had never perceiv'd in himſelf; yet ſince he was pleas'd to do him the honour to deſire a free converſation with him, he aſſur'd him of his readineſs therein. Hereupon they agreed to meet that afternoon in the council of ſtate, and from thence to retire

A private conference between *Cromwell* and *Ludlow*.

retire to a private room; where general *Cromwell* endeavour'd to perſuade *Ludlow of the neceſſity incumbent upon him to do ſeveral things that appear'd extraordinary in the judgment of ſome men, who in oppoſition to him, took ſuch courſes as would bring ruin upon themſelves, as well as him and the publick cauſe*; aſſuring him, *That his intentions were entirely directed to the good of the people, and that he was moſt ready to ſacrifice his life in their ſervice.* *Ludlow* cunſefs'd his former diſſatisfaction with him and the reſt of the army, when they were treating with the king, whom he look'd upon as the only obſtruction to the ſettlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous, where they ſhot a ſoldier to death, and impriſon'd ſeveral others, upon the account of that treaty; which he conceiv'd to have been done without authority, and for ſiniſter ends: Yet as they had ſince manifeſted their adherence to the commonwealth, he was well enough ſatisfy'd, tho' ſome things were ſtill carry'd otherwiſe than he could wiſh. Hereupon (as *Ludlow* himſelf, who relates this conference, tells us) the general acknowledg'd, that his diſſatisfaction with the army, whilſt they were treating with the king, was founded upon good reaſons, and excus'd what had been done at the rendezvous, as abſolutely neceſſary to keep things from falling into confuſion; which muſt have follow'd upon that diviſion, if it had not been ſeaſonably prevented. He further tells us, that the general profeſs'd to deſire nothing more, than that the government of the nation might be ſettled in a free and equal commonwealth; acknowledging, that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon them. Then after a long diſcourſe, ſavouring much of enthuſiaſm, after the manner of thoſe times, he added, "That it was his intention to contribute "the utmoſt of his endeavours to make a thorough

1650.

"reformation

1650. " reformation of the clergy and law: *But*, ſaid he, " *the ſons of* Zerviah *are yet too ſtrong for us*; *and* " *we cannot mention the reformation of the law, but* " *they preſently cry out*, we deſign to deſtroy pro- " perty; *whereas the law, as 'tis now conſtituted,* " *ſerves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encou-* " *rage the rich to oppreſs the poor:* Affirming, that " Mr. *Coke*, then juſtice in *Ireland*, by proceeding " in a ſummary and expeditious way, determin'd " more cauſes in a week, than *Weſtminſter-hall* in " a year." He ſaid further, " That *Ireland* was " as a clean paper in that particular, and capable " of being govern'd by ſuch laws as ſhould be " found moſt agreeable to juſtice; which may be " ſo impartially adminiſter'd as to be a good pre- " cedent even to *England* itſelf, where, when they " once perceive property preſerv'd at an eaſy and " cheap rate in *Ireland*, they will never permit " themſelves to be cheated and abuſed, as now they " are."

He conſults about the affairs of *Ireland*.

BEFORE the lord-general's departure for the *Scotch* expedition, he mov'd the council of ſtate, " That ſince they had employ'd him about a work " which would require all his care, they would be " pleas'd to eaſe him of the affairs of *Ireland*:" Which they not conſenting to, he then moved, " That they would at leaſt ſend over ſome com- " miſſioners for managing the civil affairs; aſſuring " them likewiſe, that the military being more than " major-general *Ireton* could poſſibly carry on, " without the aſſiſtance of ſome general officer to " command the horſe, which employment was be- " come vacant by the death of the brave lieutenant- " general *Jones*, it was abſolutely neceſſary to com- " miſſionate ſome worthy perſon for that employ- " ment, and to authorize him to be one of their " commiſſioners for the civil government." And thereupon he mentioned colonel *Ludlow* as a fit per- ſon for that charge; telling them, " That tho' he

" himſelf

" himſelf was empowered by virtue of his commiſ- 1650.
" ſion from the parliament, to nominate the lieu-
" tenant-general of the horſe, yet becauſe the gen-
" tleman he propos'd, was a member of parlia-
" ment, and of the council of ſtate, he deſired, for
" the better ſecuring the obedience of the army to
" him, that the parliament might be mov'd to
" nominate and appoint him to that employment."
In the end the council agreed, " That the houſe
" ſhould be moved to appoint colonel *Ludlow* lieu-
" tenant-general of the horſe in *Ireland*; and that
" the lord-general *Cromwell*, major-general *Ireton*,
" colonel *Ludlow*, colonel *John Jones*, and major
" *Salway*, or any three of them, ſhould be autho-
" riz'd by act of parliament, to be commiſſioners
" for the adminiſtration of the civil affairs in that
" nation." And the parliament concur'd with the
council herein, with the addition only of Mr. *Wea-
ver*, a member of the houſe, to be one of the com-
miſſioners for managing the civil government.

He ſets out for *Scotland*.

THE lord-general *Cromwell* having thus provided for the well ordering of the affairs of *Ireland*, on the 29th of *June* ſet out on his journey towards the army in the north. He received great demonſtrations of reſpect from the generality of the people, as he paſſed along; and on the 4th of *July* he arriv'd at *York*, accompany'd with many great officers of the army. Here the lord-mayor and aldermen attended him, and invited him and his officers to a ſtately dinner, where they were highly careſs'd, and entertain'd with mighty expreſſions of joy. But having his buſineſs chiefly at heart, he ſtaid here no longer than to order ſupplies for the army and haſten their rendezvous.

Arrives at *York*.

The *Scots* alarm'd ſend a letter to the parliament.

BEFORE this, the committee of eſtates in *Scotland*, ſeeming to be ſurprized at the news of the *Engliſh* army's marching northwards, began to expoſtulate the matter with the parliament; ſending a letter to the ſpeaker by colonel *Grey*, to this effect,

" That

1650. "That they wondered at the report of the *Engliſh* "army's advance towards their country, and that "many of their ſhips were ſecur'd by the *Engliſh* "contrary to the act of pacification in the large "treaty, whereby no acts of hoſtility were to be "uſed againſt each other, without three month's "warning given before-hand: That the forces "they were raiſing were only for their own de-"fence; and therefore they deſired to know, if "the *Engliſh* army, now on their march north-"ward, were deſign'd for offence or defence; to "guard their own borders, or invade *Scotland*." Letters of the ſame import were alſo ſent to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* governor of *Newcaſtle*, major-general *Lambert*, and the lord-general *Cromwell*.

The parliament's declaration of the grounds of their proceedings.

ON the other hand, the parliament of *England* publiſhed a declaration of the grounds and reaſons of their army's advance northwards; ſome of which were to this effect: "*Firſt*, That the *Scots*, con-"trary to their agreement, had once already inva-"ded *England* under duke *Hamilton*, and were "now ready for a ſecond invaſion; ſo that the "*Engliſh* were advanc'd againſt them only by way "of prevention. *Secondly*, That altho' they could "not claim to themſelves any authority or domi-"nion over the *Engliſh*, yet in *Scotland* they pro-"claimed *Charles Stuart* king of *England* and *Ire-"land*; and ſince that, promis'd to aſſiſt him a-"gainſt this commonwealth. *Thirdly*, That they "declared againſt the *Engliſh* parliament and ar-"my, as *Sectaries*, ranking them with malignants "and papiſts; and had reſolved to impoſe their "form of religion upon the *Engliſh* nation."

THE *Scots* perceiving that with all their arts the parliament of *England* was not to be impos'd on, now laboured by all methods poſſible to render their army odious, and incenſe the people againſt them. To this end they gave out, "That *Cromwell* had a "commiſſion to come for *Scotland* with fire and "ſword,

" ſword, and was to give no quarter to any *Scot*; 1650.
" and that he was to have all he could conquer for
" himſelf and his ſoldiers." And they further reported, " That the *Engliſh* army intended to put all
" men to the ſword, and to thruſt hot irons thro'
" the women's breaſts." This exceedingly terrify'd the people, till they were ſomewhat eas'd by a declaration of the lord-general and the army, directed to the well-affected in *Scotland*, to the following purpoſe: " That being to advance into *Scotland*,
" for the ends expreſs'd in the parliament's decla-
" ration; and conſidering the practices of ſome in
" that nation, whoſe deſigns were by unjuſt re-
" proaches and falſe ſlanders to make their army
" odious, and repreſent them as monſters rather
" than men; therefore, to clear themſelves, they
" could do no otherwiſe than to remind them of
" their behaviour when they were before in *Scot-*
" *land:* What injury was then done either to the
" perſons, houſes, or goods of any? Conſidering this,
" it was hop'd that the preſent falſe reports would
" not affright them from their habitations." And they further declar'd " from the integrity of their
" hearts, That ſuch of the gentry and commonalty,
" as inhabited where the army might come; they
" being none of thoſe who by their counſels laid
" the foundation of a ſecond invaſion, or clos'd
" with him who had endeavour'd to engage foreign
" princes againſt the commonwealth of *England*,
" and had exercis'd actual hoſtility, by commiſ-
" ſioning pirates to ſpoil the ſhips and goods belong-
" ing thereto; ſhould not have the leaſt violence or
" injury offer'd to them, either in body or goods;
" or if any ſhould happen, upon complaint made,
" redreſs and ſatisfaction ſhould immediately be
" had. Wherefore they deſir'd all perſons to con-
" tinue in their habitations, aſſuring them they
" ſhould enjoy what they had without any diſtur-
" bance." Copies of this declaration were imme-

A declaration of the lord-general *Cromwell* to the well-affected in *Scotland*.

1650. diately ſent into *Scotland*; and the country folks that came to *Berwick* market, had their pockets fill'd with them, to carry home and diſperſe among their neighbours.

He proceeds in his journey.

THE general in the mean time leaving *York*, came to *Northallerton*, and the next day to *Darlington*, where, as he paſs'd by, the train of artillery, which was quarter'd there, ſaluted him with ſeven pieces of ordnance. From hence he poſts to *Durham*, where he was met by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, who conducted him to *Newcaſtle*, where he was governour, and entertain'd him there with a great deal of gallantry. Here the lord-general and his officers kept a ſolemn faſt, to implore the bleſſing of God upon the preſent expedition: And then having duly conſider'd the affairs of the army, he ſettled a method for ſupplying it from time to time with proviſions. This done, he leaves *Newcaſtle*, and haſtens towards *Berwick*; and his forces being all come up, he on the 20*th* of *July* cauſed a general rendezvous of them to be on *Haggerſton-Moor*, four miles from *Berwick*; where he was receiv'd by the army with great ſhouting and other ſigns of joy. Being all drawn up in battalia, there appear'd a gallant body of about five thouſand horſe and eleven thouſand foot. The general marched them about two or three hundred paces, and then diſmiſſed them to their quarters, whilſt himſelf went to *Berwick*; whence the army's declaration was ſent into *Scotland*, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom, one copy of it to the *Scotch* general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of eſtates.

THE army being thus quarter'd upon the very edge of *Scotland*, the lord-general two days after, drew them out on a hill within *Berwick* bounds; where they had a full proſpect of the adjacent country, the ſtage whereon they were ſo ſoon to act their parts. Here he made a ſpeech to them, declaring

claring the grounds of their preſent undertaking, and ſomething in relation to his coming from *Ireland*, and *the providence that had deſign'd this command to him*; and exhorting them to be faithful and couragious, and then not to doubt of a bleſſing from God, and all encouragement from himſelf. This ſpeech was anſwer'd with loud and unanimous acclamations from the ſoldiers; who being order'd to march, went on ſhouting as they enter'd *Scotland*. That night they quarter'd in the field near the lord *Mordington*'s caſtle; where the lord-general, for the better preſerving good order and diſcipline, caus'd a proclamation to be made throughout the camp, "That none, on pain of death, ſhould offer "violence or injury to the perſons or goods of any "in *Scotland* not in arms; and withal, that none "on the ſame penalty do preſume, without ſpe- "cial licence, to ſtraggle half a mile from their "quarters." From hence they advanc'd for *Coberſpath*, and the next day arriv'd at *Dunbar*, where they were recruited with proviſions from the ſhips ſent thither from *England* for that purpoſe; for the country afforded them none, the *Scotch* eſtates having taken a courſe before-hand, to clear all the country from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh*, of all things that might afford any ſuccour or relief to the *Engliſh* army. But this entertainment did not in the leaſt diſcourage them, it being no other than they expected.

1650.

He enters *Scotland*.

Arrives at *Dunbar*.

THE army being ſomewhat refreſh'd at *Dunbar*, march'd from thence to *Haddington*, twelve miles from *Edinburgh*; and all this without the leaſt oppoſition, not ſeeing all this while the face of an enemy in arms; nor did they in all their march ſee one *Scotchman* under ſixty years of age, nor any youth above ſix, and but very few women and children; they being all fled from their habitations, upon their miniſters telling them, "That the *Engliſh* would cut the throats of all

Marches to *Haddington*.

1650. "between ſixty and ſixteen years old, cut off "the right hands of all the youths under ſixteen "and above ſix, burn the womens breaſts with hot "irons, and deſtroy all before them." Whereupon, as the army march'd through ſome towns, poor women fell on their knees, begging that they would not burn their breaſts before they deſtroy'd them, and children begg'd them to ſave their lives; ſo much did the people believe what their miniſters had told them.

THE next day after the army's remove to *Haddington*, they underſtood that the enemy was diſpoſed to give them battle on a heath called *Gladſmoor*. Whereupon the *Engliſh* endeavour'd to poſſeſs themſelves of the place before them, that they might have the advantage of ground in caſe they ſhould meet them: But the *Scots*, it ſeems, thought not fit to appear. Upon this major-general *Lambert* and colonel *Whally* were order'd to advance with one thouſand four hundred horſe toward *Muſcleborough*, four miles from *Edinburgh*; and major *Hains* commanding the forlorn, faced the enemy within three quarters of a mile of their trenches. The next day the lord-general drew up his whole army before *Edinburgh*, near which the *Scotch* army was encamp'd upon a very advantageous ground. Here ſome ſkirmiſhes happen'd about the poſſeſſion of king *Arthur*'s-hill, a place within a mile of the city; which the *Engliſh* gain'd, having beaten the enemy from it; and ſoon after poſſeſſed themſelves of a church and ſeveral houſes. But all theſe provocations could not prevail on the *Scots* to forſake their trenches, nor would they by any means be drawn forth to engage in a general combat. The lord-general intended to have made an attempt upon them; but there fell ſo great a rain, which continued all night, and part of the next day, and his men were ſo wearied out with hard duty, that he was oblig'd to draw off his army

Endeavours to draw the enemy to a general engagement, but in vain.

Beats them in ſeveral skirmiſhes.

my to *Muſcleborough*, there to refreſh and recruit it with proviſions. As he drew off, the *Scots*, who labour'd all they could to vex and diſtreſs the *Engliſh* army, without coming to a general engagement with them, ſallied out, and falling upon the rear-guard, put them into ſome diſorder; but major-general *Lambert* and colonel *Whalley* coming in to their relief, routed the *Scots*, and beat them back into their trenches. *Lambert* was wounded in the charge, and had his horſe killed under him; but they took two colours, and ſeveral priſoners of the enemy; whilſt the king ſtood all the while upon the caſtle, and ſaw the encounter. Some few of the *Engliſh* were kill'd, but far more of the *Scots*, amongſt whom were ſome perſons of quality. After this, the *Engliſh* march'd on quietly to *Muſcleborough*, tho' in a very wet and weary condition; that night they ſtood upon their guard, expecting every moment to be ſet upon by their enemy; as at laſt they were: For between three and four o'clock in the morning, major-general *Montgomery*, and colonel *Straughan*, with fifteen companies of choice horſe, fell into their quarters with ſuch fury, that they bore down the guards, and put a regiment of horſe in diſorder. But the *Engliſh* army taking the alarm, charg'd them ſo home that they put them to the rout, and purſued them within half a league of *Edinburgh*, killing ſeveral officers and ſoldiers, and taking many priſoners. The *Scots*, when they fell firſt upon the *Engliſh*, cry'd out, *Give no quarter, but kill all*; and particularly they refus'd to give quarter to one captain *Phineas*, whom notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* brought off. There were two miniſters in the *Scotch* party, and one of them was taken priſoner; and 'tis ſaid the *Scotch* ſoldiers confeſs'd, *That the miniſters did moſt ſtir them up to cruelty*. The lord-general, to ſhew his generoſity, ſent the chief officers of the *Scots* who were wounded and taken, in his own coach, and the reſt in

1650.

Retreats to *Muſcleborough*.

1650. waggons to *Edinburgh*; which gain'd him great applauſe, and tended much to vindicate him from thoſe reports that had been given out of his cruelty, whereby many had been prejudic'd againſt him.

Marches again to *Dunbar* for ſupplies.

THE army having now well nigh ſpent their proviſions, the lord-general retires with them again to *Dunbar*, to meet and take in ſuch freſh ſupplies as were ſent thither by ſea, by order of the *Engliſh* parliament. Here they receiv'd their tents and proviſions from the ſhips; and the inhabitants of *Dunbar* being reduc'd to great want, the general order'd a great quantity of peaſe and wheat, to the value of two hundred and forty pounds, of that which was ſent from *London* to the army, to be diſtributed among the poor people there. After convenient ſupply and refreſhment, and two days ſpent in exhortation to the army, and in *ſeeking God* for his bleſſing upon their actions, they again advanced towards *Edinburgh*, where the *Scots* were keeping a ſolemn thankſgiving for their ſuppoſed great deliverance, imagining the *Engliſh* army was quite gone; and the miniſters gave God thanks, *for turning back the army of ſectaries by the way that they came, and putting terror into their hearts, which made them flee when none purſued.* But the ſudden return of the army to *Muſcleborough* ſoon made them aſham'd of what they had been doing; tho' it ſeems, *Leſley* was not ſo confident, but expected another viſit from the *Engliſh*; for upon their return, they found *Muſcleborough* more forlorn than before, he having commanded, *That the gude women of the town ſhould awe come away with their gear, and not any ſtay to brew or bake for the* Engliſh *army on pain of death.*

Advances again towards *Edinburgh*.

ABOUT this time, a trumpet came to the army from lieutenant-general *David Leſley*, with a declaration of the general aſſembly, containing the ſtate of the quarrel in which they were to fight; which they deſir'd might be publickly known, and was

" to

to this effect: "That the general aſſembly con- 1650.
"ſidering there muſt be juſt grounds of ſtumbling,
"from the king's majeſty's refuſing to ſubſcribe
"the declaration concerning his former carriage,
"and reſolutions for the future in reference to the
"cauſe of God, the enemies and friends thereof;
"doth therefore declare, That the kirk and king-
"dom will not own any *malignant* party, their quar-
"rel or intereſt, but they will fight upon their
"former principles, for the cauſe of God and the
"kingdom. And therefore as they diſclaim all the
"ſin and guilt of the king and his houſe, ſo they
"will not own him nor his intereſt, any further
"than he ſhall diſclaim his and his father's oppo-
"ſition to the work of God, and the enemies
"thereof. And withal, they will with conveni-
"nient ſpeed conſider of the papers ſent to them
"from *Oliver Cromwell*, and vindicate themſelves
"from the falſehoods contained therein."

His anſwer to the general aſſembly's declaration.

To this the lord-general thought fit to return them this anſwer: "That the army continued the
"ſame as they profeſs'd themſelves to the honeſt
"people of *Scotland*, wiſhing to them as to their
"own ſouls; it being no part of their buſineſs to
"hinder them in the worſhip of God according to
"their conſciences, as by his word they ought;
"and that they ſhould be ready to perform what
"obligation lay upon them by the *covenant*. But
"that under the pretence of the *covenant* miſtaken,
"a king ſhould be taken in by them, and impos'd
"on the *Engliſh*, and this call'd *the cauſe of God*
"*and the kingdom*; and this done upon the ſatis-
"faction of God's people in both nations, as
"alledg'd, together with a diſowning of *malig-*
"*nants*, altho' the head of them be receiv'd, who
"at this very inſtant hath a party fighting in *Ire-*
"*land*, and prince *Rupert* at ſea on a *malignant*
"account; the *French* and *Iriſh* ſhips daily mak-
"ing depredations upon the *Engliſh* coaſts, and all

1650. " by virtue of his commiſſion; therefore the army
" cannot believe, that whilſt *Malignants* are fight-
" ing and plotting againſt them on the one ſide,
" the *Scots* declaring for him on the other, ſhould
" not be an eſpouſing of a *Malignant* intereſt or
" quarrel, but a mere fighting on former grounds
" and principles. If the ſtate of the quarrel be
" thus, and you ſay you reſolve to fight the army,
" you will have opportunity to do that; elſe what
" means our abode here? And our hope is in the
" Lord, *&c.*"

He encamps on *Pencland* hills.

GENERAL *Cromwell* finding he could by no means provoke the *Scots* to an engagement, on the 17th of *Auguſt* march'd his army from *Muſcleborough*, and pitch'd his tents on *Pencland* hills, within view of *Edinburgh*. In this march the enemy drew forth ſeveral bodies of horſe, and fac'd the *Engliſh*, but came not within gun-ſhot. The army being quarter'd on the hills, the lord-general ſent out two troops of dragoons to poſſeſs themſelves of *Collington-houſe*. About this time, a ſerjeant in colonel *Cox*'s regiment and three ſoldiers his aſſociates, were ſentenc'd to be hang'd for plundering a houſe and ſtealing a cloak; which ſentence was executed on the ſerjeant, for a terror to others; but the other three were pardon'd. So careful was the general to preſerve the country, according to his declaration.

ON the 18th the *Scots* drew forth on the weſt ſide of *Edinburgh*, between the river *Leith* and the ſea, to the number of three thouſand horſe, apprehending the *Engliſh* deſign'd to poſſeſs a paſs over the ſaid river. The lord-general ſeeing this, drew out a forlorn, and went in perſon before them, to ſhew how ready he was to fight. Being come near to their body, one who knew the lord-general, fir'd a carbine at him: Upon which, he call'd out and told him, *That if he had been one of his ſoldiers, he ſhould have been caſhier'd for firing at that diſtance.*

This

This was all that was done; for the *Scots* ſtill having no mind to fight, return'd back again to their quarters. And the next day, part of the *Engliſh* army took the houſe of *Redhaugh*, belonging to Sir *James Hamilton*. It was a garriſon ſituated within a mile and a half of *Edinburgh*, and had about eighty foot to defend it; and though the *Engliſh* ſtorm'd it in the ſight of the enemy's whole army, yet no party came out to relieve it. Threeſcore were taken priſoners here; and the place was of great advantage to the *Engliſh*. 1650. Takes *Redhaugh*.

ON the 26th of *Auguſt*, the *Scots* ſent to general *Cromwell*, to deſire a conference between ſome of themſelves and ſome of his officers. This being agreed to, and a convenient place appointed, the lord *Wariſtoun*, ſecretary of ſtate, Sir *John Brown*, colonel *Straughan*, and Mr. *Douglaſs* a miniſter, with ſome others, attended for that purpoſe. The chief deſign of this conference, was to wipe off a pretended aſperſion that was caſt upon them, and ſpread over both armies, as if they kept themſelves, in trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themſelves from theſe calumnies, they aſſur'd the *Engliſh*, "That "when opportunity ſerv'd, it ſhould be ſeen that "they wanted not courage to give them battle."

THE next morning the *Scotch* army, as if they deſign'd ſo ſoon to make good what they had ſaid, drew out upon a march; which the lord general *Cromwell* no ſooner obſerv'd, but he prepar'd to meet them, hoping now to have ſome fair play with them. And the ſoldiers alſo expected the ſame thing, being overjoy'd at the very thoughts of engaging; in order to which they immediately took down their tents, laid aſide their knap-ſacks, and put themſelves every way into a fit poſture to meet and receive their enemy. But the *Scots*, it ſeems, had ſtill no mind to come to an engagement; for when the *Engliſh* army drew near them, they found they

Attends the motions of the *Scotch* army.

1650. they were ſeparated from them, by a great bog and a deep ditch; ſo that they could not come at them to engage, without running ſuch hazards as were not neceſſary at that time. All that the lord-general could do for the preſent, was to thunder againſt them with his cannon. Both armies ſtood all that night in battalia; and the next morning, the great guns roared on both ſides for about the ſpace of an hour; by which one and twenty of the *Engliſh* were kill'd or wounded, but many more of the *Scots*, who, for all that, would not remove to any other ground to engage, nor join in a cloſer fight.

Retreats to *Pencland.*

UPON this, the lord-general *Cromwell* march'd back his army to their former quarters on *Pencland* hills; where they were no ſooner arriv'd but they were inform'd, that the *Scots* had ſent out a party to take in *Muſcleborough* and *Preſton-pans*, thereby to cut off proviſions from the *Engliſh* army. Hereupon the lord-general gave orders for the army to march that way; which they were very forward to do, as being to fight for their victuals. But it being a very ſtormy and tempeſtuous night, and very dark, he ſtay'd their march till the next morning; when they arrived at *Muſcleborough* without any moleſtation from the enemy, who in the mean time took poſſeſſion of what they had left behind them on *Pencland* hills; and then dogging them in the rear, watch'd all opportunities to diſtreſs them.

To *Muſcleborough.*

F. *Orleans* gives us this brief account of theſe various marches of the lord-general *Cromwell*, in order to bring the *Scots* to an engagement. "*Crom-*
"*well*, ſays he, whoſe intereſt it was to endeavour
"to come ſoon to a battle, in a country where his
"army found nothing to ſubſiſt on, march'd di-
"rectly towards the enemy, who lay encamp'd
"between *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, to cover thoſe
"two places, and the heart of the country. The
"cunning *Engliſhman* try'd all ways to draw *Leſly*
"to

" to fight; but he underſtood his trade, and it be- 1650.
" ing his intereſt to protract time, ſo to ruin the
" enemy's army, which had neither ammunition
" nor proviſions but what came from *England* at a
" great charge, and with much difficulty, he kept
" himſelf ſo ſtrongly intrench'd, that *Cromwell*
" durſt not attack him. The *Engliſh* general us'd
" all the baits and ſtratagems known in war, to
" oblige the *Scot* to fight him; ſometimes draw-
" ing him towards *Dunbar*, as if he would have
" beſieg'd *Edinburgh*, and again moving to get
" between *Sterling* and him. But the *Scot* dex-
" terouſly avoided all theſe ſnares; and tho' the
" *Engliſh* army kept up cloſe with him, he ſo or-
" dered his motions, and poſted himſelf ſo advan-
" tageouſly, that the whole month of *Auguſt* was
" ſpent in thoſe counter-marches, ſo tedious to a
" man of *Cromwell*'s ſpirit, who could never meet
" with an opportunity either to fight in open field,
" or attack his enemy in his camp."

By this means, and by frequent ſkirmiſhes and harraſſing the *Engliſh*, the *Scots* hop'd at laſt to tire them out, depending much upon the diſagreeableneſs of the climate to their conſtitution, eſpecially, if they ſhould keep them in the field till winter, which begins betimes in thoſe parts. And their counſels ſucceeded according to their wiſh; for by this time the *Engliſh* army, through hard duty, want of proviſions (the ſtores brought by ſea being now exhauſted) and the rigour of the ſeaſon, grew very ſickly, and diminiſh'd daily; the *Scotch* army in the mean time increaſing, and continuing in good heart. The lord-general reflecting upon the ſad ſtate of his affairs, and conſidering the weak and crazy condition of his army, reſolved in this exigency to retreat with them once more to *Dunbar*. Authors differ as to the deſign of this march; ſome thinking it was to receive further ſupplies from the *Engliſh* ſhips; others, that it was in order to re-

turn

1650. turn into *England*; and others again ſuppoſe, that the general intended, by garriſoning *Dunbar*, to lie there ſecurely for ſome time, till they might recover ſtrength, and receive convenient recruits both of horſe and foot from *Berwick*. The lord *Clarendon* ſays, "Whether that march was to retire out "of ſo barren a country for want of proviſions "(which no doubt were very ſcarce; and the ſea-"ſon of the year would not permit them to depend "upon all neceſſary ſupplies by ſea;) or whe-"ther that motion was only to draw the *Scots* "from the advantageous poſt of which they were "poſſeſs'd, is not yet underſtood." And biſhop *Burnet* tells us, That *Cromwell* being preſs'd by the *Scotch* army, retir'd to *Dunbar*, where his ſhips and proviſions lay. This ſeems to be very true, and that *Cromwell* was then only on the defenſive; but whether at his departure from *Muſcleborough* he had actually deſign'd to return into *England*, does not appear ſo certain: Though *Ludlow* tells us, that when the army came to *Dunbar*, they ſhipped their baggage and ſick men, and deſign'd to return into *England*; and others ſay, that *Cromwell* wanting proviſions, was there ſhipping off his foot and cannon, deſigning only the next day to break through with his horſe.

To *Haddington.* WHATEVER the lord-general's deſign was, he, in purſuance of the foremention'd reſolution, on tne 30th of *Auguſt*, drew out his army from *Muſcleborough*, and march'd towards *Haddington*. The *Scots* obſerving the *Engliſh* army to retire, follow'd them cloſe; and falling upon the rear-guard of horſe in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot. Which alarm, coming ſuddenly upon them, put them into ſome diſorder. But the *Scots*, as ſome ſay, wanting courage to proſecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overſhadowing the moon, gave the *Engliſh* an opportunity to ſecure themſelves and recover

recover the main body. Being come to *Haddington*, where they were in continual danger of being assaulted by the enemy, the general order'd a strict watch to be kept, to prevent the worst. The *Scots* conceiving they had now a more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the *English* quarters on the west end of the town; but were soon repuls'd and set further off. The next day, being the first of *September*, the *Scots* being drawn up at the west end of the town in a very advantageous place, the *English* drew out on the east into an open field, very fit for both armies to engage in; where having waited some hours for the coming of the *Scots*, and perceiving that they would not fight but upon an advantage, they, pursuant to their former resolution, march'd away to *Dunbar*. 1650. To *Dunbar*.

THE *Scotch* army follow'd at a convenient distance, being reinforc'd with the addition of three regiments; and seeing the *English* lodg'd in *Dunbar*, hover'd about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and destruction, and looking down upon them as their sure prey.

THE lord-general was now in great distress, and look'd upon himself as undone. His army was in a very weak and sickly condition, and in great want of provisions, whereby their courage also was very much abated; whilst the *Scots* were stout and hearty, in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And besides, they more than doubled the *English* in number, being about twenty seven thousand, whereas the others were but twelve thousand. Some say they had in their army about thirty thousand horse and foot; and the *English* were reduc'd to ten thousand at the most. General *Cromwell*, with this sickly company, was now hemm'd in on every side by those greater numbers of his enemies; who, to make sure work, had also by a strong party secur'd *Coberspath*, the only pass between Is in great distress.

1650. between him and *Berwick*, thereby to hinder all proviſions or relief from thence, or to cut off all retreat from the *Engliſh* army, who had not above three days forage for their horſes. Thus were they reduc'd to the utmoſt ſtraits, ſo that they had now no way left, but either to yield themſelves priſoners, and tamely give up themſelves a prey to their inſulting enemies; or to fight upon thoſe unequal terms, and under thoſe great diſadvantages.

Calls a council of war.

In this extremity the lord-general, on the 2d of *September*, call'd a council of war, in which, after ſome debate, it was reſolv'd to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the ſeveral regiments were order'd to their reſpective poſts. Here we are told by biſhop *Burnet*, That *Cromwell*, under theſe preſſing difficulties, call'd his officers together to ſeek the Lord, as they expreſs'd it: After which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the earl of *Roxburgh*'s gardens, that lay under the hill, and by proſpective glaſſes diſcerning a great motion in the *Scotch* camp; *Cromwell* thereupon ſaid, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. And the biſhop ſays, that *Cromwell* lov'd to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards. The *Scots*, it ſeems, had now at laſt reſolv'd to fight the *Engliſh*, and to that end were drawing down the hill, where, if they had continu'd, the *Engliſh*, could not have gone up to engage them without very great diſadvantage. This reſolution was contrary to *Leſley*'s opinion; who, tho' he was in the chief command, had a committee of the ſtates to give him his orders, among whom *Wariſtoun* was one. Theſe being weary of lying in the fields, thought that *Leſley* did not make haſte enough to deſtroy the army of the ſectaries, as they call'd them. *Leſley* on the other hand told them, that by lying there all was ſure, but that by

engaging

engaging in action with brave and deſperate men, all might be loſt; and yet they ſtill preſs'd him to fall on. Many have imagin'd that there was treachery in all this; but the forementioned author ſays, he was perſuaded there was no treachery in it; only *Wariſtoun* was too hot, and *Leſley* was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their humours, which he ſhould not have done. This reſolution of the *Scots*, to fall upon the *Engliſh*, was for ſome time retarded by the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather; and in the mean while, as we have already obſerv'd, *Cromwell* reſolv'd to fall upon them. 1650.

Totally routs the *Scotch* army in the battle of *Dunbar*.

THE night before the battle proving dreadfully rainy and tempeſtuous, the lord-general took more than ordinary care of himſelf and his army. He refreſhed his men in the town, and above all things ſecured his match-locks againſt the weather, whilſt his enemies neglected theirs. The *Scots* were all the night employed in coming down the hill; and early in the morning, being *Tueſday* the third of *September*, before they were put in order, general *Cromwell* drew out a ſtrong party of horſe, and falling upon the horſe-guards, made them retire. Then immediately his bodies both of horſe and foot advancing, the fight ſoon grew hot on all ſides; till after about an hour's diſpute, the whole numerous army of the *Scots* was totally routed. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all kill'd in their ranks. The reſt fled, and were purſu'd as far as *Haddington* with great execution. About four thouſand were ſlain on the place and in the purſuit, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, many of whom were deſperately wounded. Fifteen thouſand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours were taken; and all with the loſs of ſcarce three hundred *Engliſh*. Priſoners of note were Sir *James Lumſdale* lieutenant-general of the foot, the lord *Libberton* (who ſoon after dy'd of his wounds) adjutant-general *Bickerton*, ſcout-

1650. ſcout-maſter *Campbell*, Sir *William Douglaſs*; the lord *Grandiſon*, and colonel *Gourdon*; beſides twelve lieutenant-colonels, ſix majors, forty two captains, ſeventy five lieutenants, *&c.* The two *Leſleys* eſcap'd to *Edinburgh*, which upon the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by its garriſon, and *Leith* reſolv'd to admit the conquerors, being not able to keep them out. Thus this formidable army, which had ſo lately triumph'd in a confident aſſurance of victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half ſo numerous, which at the ſame time was reduc'd almoſt to the laſt extremity. But this extremity making them fix upon ſo firm a reſolution either to conquer or die, and withal, their falling ſo ſuddenly upon the *Scots*, when they ſo little expected them, but deſign'd firſt to fall upon them, ſeem to be the true occaſion of this wonderful turn of affairs. The lord-general himſelf drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and ſent it by a courier to the council of ſtate, who order'd it to be read in all the churches of *London* with ſolemn thankſgiving: And the colours taken in this battle being ſent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in *Weſtminſter-hall.*

CHAP. IV.

From the battle of Dunbar, *to the battle of* Worceſter.

THIS great ſucceſs put new life into the *Engliſh* ſoldiers, who by this means, after having been ſo long toſs'd up and down, almoſt ſpent by hard duty, and reduced to ſuch extremity, that they were in danger of being ſtarv'd, now met with good accommodation and refreſhment, and had an opportunity to furniſh themſelves with all neceſſary ſupplies. Soon after the battle

was

was over, the lord-general, the better to improve his victory, and to ſecure what he had obtained, ſent *Lambert* with a ſtrong party of horſe and foot to attempt *Edinburgh*, the chief city, and ſecure *Leith*, that the *Engliſh* ſhips might there the more readily and conveniently ſupply the army with all neceſſaries. The *Scots*, upon the news of their army's defeat, having deſerted *Edinburgh*, *Lambert* on the ſame day obtained a quiet poſſeſſion of it, as alſo of *Leith*; in both which places were found ſeveral pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſions; which the *Scots*, by reaſon of their haſte, could not carry away with them. But though the *Engliſh* had thus poſſeſs'd themſelves of the town of *Edinburgh*, the caſtle ſtill remained in the hands of the enemy; which, though judged impregnable, was at laſt reduced by *Cromwell*; as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

1650.

He takes poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh* and *Leith*.

THE lord-general ſtaid ſome ſmall time at *Dunbar*, to ſettle matters, and to diſpoſe of the priſoners; who being ſo numerous, that it ſeem'd as much trouble to keep them as it was to take them, about five thouſand of them, who were moſt ſick and wounded, were ſet at liberty; and the reſt were driven like turkies to *Berwick*, by the *Engliſh* ſoldiers appointed to convey them thither. Soon after *Lambert* had taken poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh*, the lord-general himſelf came up, and caus'd his whole army to march into that city; which was done without any loſs, ſave that one of the ſoldiers had his arm ſhot off by a cannon-bullet from the caſtle. And now all poſſible diligence was us'd in fortifying *Leith*, it being judg'd to be the beſt and moſt commodious ſheltring-place the *Engliſh* could have in *Scotland*, for the winter-ſeaſon.

ON the *Sunday* after the lord-general had enter'd *Edinburgh*, he ſent a trumpet to the caſtle, to acquaint

1650. quaint the governour, that the miniſters who were with him might return to the churches, and have free liberty to preach there; but the miniſters return'd him this anſwer, *That they found nothing expreſs'd, whereby to build any ſecurity for their perſons; and for their return, they reſolved to reſerve themſelves for better times, and to wait upon him who had hidden his face for a while from the ſons of* Jacob. General *Cromwell* reply'd in a letter to the governour, as follows:

His two letters to the governour of *Edinburgh* caſtle.

" OUR kindneſs offer'd to the miniſters with " you was done with ingenuity, thinking to have " met with the like; but I am ſatisfy'd to tell " thoſe with you, that if their maſter's ſervice " (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, ima- " gination of ſufferings would not have caus'd ſuch " a return; much leſs the practices of our party " (as they are pleas'd to ſay) upon the miniſters " of *Chriſt* in *England*, have been an argument of " perſonal perſecution. The miniſters of *England* " are ſupported, and have liberty to preach the " goſpel, though not to rail; nor under pretence " thereof, to over-top the civil power, or debaſe " it as they pleaſe. No man hath been troubled " in *England* or *Ireland* for preaching the goſpel; " nor has any miniſter been moleſted in *Scotland*, " ſince the coming of the army hither. The ſpeak- " ing truth becomes the miniſters of *Chriſt*. When " miniſters pretend to a glorious reformation, and " lay the foundation thereof in getting to them- " ſelves power, and can make worldly mixtures to " accompliſh the ſame, ſuch as their late agree- " ment with their king, and hopes by him to carry " on their deſigns, they may know, that the *Sion* " promiſed, and hoped for, will not be built with " ſuch *untempered mortar*. And for the unjuſt in- " vaſion they mention, time was when an army of " *Scotland* came into *England*, not called by the " ſupreme authority. We have ſaid in our papers,

" with

" with what hearts, and upon what account we 1650.
" came; and the Lord hath heard us, tho' you
" would not, *upon as ſolemn an appeal* as any ex-
" perience can parallel. When they truſt purely to
" the ſword of the ſpirit, which is *the word of*
" *God*, which is powerful to bring down ſtrong
" holds, and every imagination that exalts itſelf,
" which alone is able to ſquare and fit the ſtones
" for the *New Jeruſalem*; then, and not before,
" and by that means, and no other, ſhall *Jeruſa-*
" *lem* (which is to be the praiſe of the whole earth)
" the city of the Lord be built, the *Sion* of the
" Holy One of *Iſrael*. I have nothing to ſay
" to you, but that I am, Sir, your humble ſer-
" vant, *O. Cromwell.*"

THE *Scotch* miniſters ſent an anſwer to this letter, and general *Cromwell* another letter in anſwer to them; in which he ſays: " We look upon mi-
" niſters as helpers of, not lords over the faith of
" God's people: I appeal to their conſciences,
" whether any denying their doctrines, and diſ-
" ſenting, ſhall not incur the cenſure of ſectary;
" and what is this but to deny chriſtians their li-
" berty, and aſſume the infallible chair? Where
" do you find in ſcripture, that preaching is in-
" cluded in your function? Tho' an approbation
" from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet
" he that hath not a better than that, he hath none
" at all. I hope he that aſcended up on high
" may give his gifts to whom he pleaſe; and if
" thoſe gifts be the ſeal of miſſion, be not envious,
" tho' *Eldad* and *Medad* propheſy: You know
" who bids us covet earneſtly the beſt gifts, but
" chiefly that we may propheſy; which the apoſtle
" explains there to be a ſpeaking to inſtruction, and
" edification, and comfort; which the inſtructed,
" edified, and comforted can beſt tell the energy
" and effect of. If ſuch evidence be, I ſay again,
" take heed you envy not, for your own ſakes;

1650. "leſt you be guilty of a greater fault than *Moſes* "reprov'd in *Joſhua*, for envying for his ſake. "Indeed you err thro' the miſtake of the ſcrip- "tures: Approbation is an act of conveniency, "in reſpect of order; not of neceſſity, to give "faculty to preach the goſpel. Your pretended "fear, leſt error ſhould ſtep in, is like the man "that would keep all the wine out of the country, "leſt men ſhould be drunk. It will be found an "unjuſt and unwiſe jealouſy, to deny a man the "liberty he hath by nature, upon a ſuppoſition "he may abuſe it; when he doth abuſe it, judge." The miniſters ſtill refuſing to return to their churches, the lord-general caus'd *Engliſh* miniſters to officiate in their places.

ALL the chief magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, together with the committees of the kirk and ſtate, fled from thence to *Sterling*, where they endeavour'd to ſecure themſelves as well as they could. Hither likewiſe reſorted thoſe who had eſcaped at *Dunbar*, and did what they could to piece up their ſhatter'd army, that by a ſecond encounter they might endeavour to regain their loſt credit: To which end recruits were alſo rais'd by the committee of eſtates; but it was thought fit to make ſome change in the officers, not only in the inferior ones, but alſo in the great commanders: For old *Leſley*, earl of *Leven*, was laid aſide with diſhonour, tho' *David Leſley* was continu'd.

Several parties in *Scotland*.

BUT all theſe methods ſignify'd but little, whilſt the *Scots* were ſo divided among themſelves, and ſplit into ſo many parties and factions. The ruling party was that which was for the king and kirk; tho' theſe were again ſub-divided into *reſolutioners* and *proteſtors*. The reſolutioners were ſo call'd from their adhering to thoſe reſolutions, which were paſs'd by the committee of eſtates, and the commiſſioners of the kirk; "That thoſe who had "made defection, or had hitherto been too back-

"ward

" ward in the work, ought to be admitted to make " profeſſion of their repentance; and then, after " ſuch profeſſion made, might, in the preſent ex- " tremity, be admitted to defend and ſerve their " country." Againſt theſe reſolutions ſome of thoſe two bodies proteſted; who, together with thoſe who adher'd to them, were call'd the proteſtors. They alledg'd, " That to take in men of known " enmity to the cauſe, was a ſort of betraying it, " becauſe it was putting it in their power to be- " tray it; that to admit them to a profeſſion of " repentance, was a profanation and mocking of " God; for that it was manifeſt, they were wil- " ling to comply with thoſe terms, though againſt " their conſcience, only that they might get into " the army; and that they could not expect the " bleſſing of God upon an army ſo conſtituted." They had a great advantage over the others as to this particular; for this mock penitence was indeed a very ſcandalous practice. Theſe proceedings gave riſe to another faction, which prevail'd chiefly in the weſtern counties; where a great many met, and form'd an aſſociation apart, as well againſt the king and the defection in the kirk party, as againſt the army of ſectaries. Theſe were call'd *remonſtrators*, from their publiſhing a remonſtrance againſt all the proceedings in the late treaty with the king, when, as they ſaid, it was viſible by the commiſſion he granted to *James Graham* (meaning the marquis of *Montroſs*) that his heart was not ſincere; and when he took the *covenant*, they had reaſon to believe he did it with a reſolution not to maintain it, ſince in his whole deportment and private converſation, he diſcover'd a ſecret enmity to the work of God. They imputed the ſhameful defeat at *Dunbar*, to their prevaricating in theſe things: And concluded, " That " therefore, according to the declaration of kirk " and ſtate, *Auguſt* 13, 1650, they diſclaim'd all 1650.

1650. "the ſin and guilt of the king and his houſe, both "old and new; and that they could not own him "nor his intereſt in the ſtate of the quarrel be-"twixt them and the enemy, againſt whom they "were to hazard their lives." The chief leaders of this party were colonel *Ker* and colonel *Straughan*. Their remonſtrance being brought to the committee of eſtates at *Sterling*, was after much debate condemn'd as diviſive, factious, and ſcandalous; in which alſo the commiſſioners of the kirk concurr'd; but ſo nevertheleſs as, if poſſible, to bring *Ker* and his party over by fair means; to which purpoſe, ſeveral papers paſs'd between them, and all methods were us'd to heal theſe diviſions. Beſides theſe, there was another party in the north, who were purely for the king, without any regard to the kirk.

Various motions of the lord-general *Cromwell*.

WHILST the *Scots* were thus divided among themſelves, and their animoſities grew higher and higher, the lord-general *Cromwell* was active with his victorious forces, which rang'd at pleaſure about the country. Having his head-quarters at *Edinburgh*, and having there given his men all neceſſary refreſhment, he drew out the greateſt part of his army for *Sterling*, and with them fac'd the caſtle, having at firſt ſome deſign to ſtorm it; but perceiving the horſe could not well ſecond the foot, he chang'd his reſolution, and return'd back to *Edinburgh*. Whither being arriv'd, he order'd all the boats in the *Frith* to be carried to *Leith*, to prevent the *Scots* ferrying over into *Fife* in order join with the enemy there.

IN the mean time preparations were making for the ſiege of *Edinburgh* caſtle; in which the lord-general having given the neceſſary orders and directions, marched away ſix regiments of foot, and nine of horſe and dragoons, for *Glaſgow*; and by the way of *Linlithgow*, ſent a paper to the committee of eſtates, to try once more what might be effected

effected by fair means; a copy of which was alſo at the ſame time ſent to colonel *Ker* and *Straughan*, for the ſame purpoſe. There was little elſe remarkable in this expedition, but the taking of a ſmall garriſon near *Kelſith*: And it may be remember'd, that when the *Engliſh* came to *Glaſgow*, and ſaw one of the legs of the late marquis of *Montroſs* hanging over the gate, they remembering his valiant actions, took it down, and buried it privately. 1650.

THE ſeaſon now admitting of no conſiderable action, the lord-general return'd again to *Edinburgh*; where he publiſhed a proclamation againſt a company of ſturdy fellows, called *Moſs-troopers*, who very much moleſted the army, and by the treachery and connivance of the country people, kill'd many of the *Engliſh* ſoldiers, and grew ſo bold as to ſteal ſome of the train horſes. The proclamation was to this effect: "That finding many "of the army were not only ſpoil'd and robb'd, "but alſo others barbarouſly butchered and ſlain, "by a ſort of out-laws, not under the diſcipline "of any army; and finding that all tenderneſs to "the country produc'd no other effect, than their "compliance with, and protection of ſuch per-"ſons: Therefore, conſidering that it is in the "country's power to detect and diſcover them; "and perceiving their motion to be ordinarily by "the invitation and intelligence of country people; "he declar'd, that wherever theſe enormities ſhould "be committed for the future, life ſhould be re-"quired for life, and a plenary ſatisfaction for the "goods thus ſtoln, of thoſe pariſhes and places "where the fact ſhould be committed, unleſs they "did diſcover and produce the offender." *He publiſhes a proclamation againſt the Moſs-troopers.*

SOON after this proclamation was publiſh'd, colonel *Monk*, with a commanded party of foot, four pieces of ordnance, and a mortar-piece, was ſent to reduce *Derlington* houſe, one of the neſts of theſe *Moſs-troopers*; which, being join'd by *Lambert*, *Monk reduces Derlington houſe.*

1650. he ſoon effected, taking all that were within priſoners; whereof two of the moſt notorious, with their captain, one *Waite*, were preſently ſhot to death. After this *Monk* taking with him a party of ſix hundred foot, march'd againſt *Roſlan* caſtle; where, tho' at firſt he met with ſome reſiſtance, it was quickly ſurrender'd to him.

And *Roſlan* caſtle.

THE lord-general, who would not let ſlip any opportunity, made what uſe he could of the differences and diſſentions that were in *Scotland*, and endeavour'd to improve them to his own advantage. To this end, he ſent ſeveral times to *Ker* and *Straughan* in the weſt, to invite them to come in to him. This had that good effect, that *Straughan* ſhortly after withdrew himſelf from his party, and clos'd with the *Engliſh*, leaving *Ker* to command all himſelf. The lord-general ſtill endeavour'd to draw him over, but all in vain; and having an eſpecial eye upon this party, ſince he could not prevail by fair means, he reſolv'd, notwithſtanding the difficulty of marching at that time of the year, to endeavour to reduce them by force. Accordingly, about the end of *November*, he order'd major-general *Lambert*, and commiſſary-general *Whalley*, with five regiments of horſe, to march from *Peebles* to *Hamilton*, on the ſouth ſide of the river *Clyde*; whilſt himſelf march'd from *Edinburgh* on the north ſide. Having ſtaid here ſome ſmall time till he had good intelligence where *Lambert* and his party were; and withal, the weather being very bad, he march'd back again to *Edinburgh*. *Ker* having notice of this, as alſo that *Lambert* was at *Hamilton*, thought he had now an opportunity to ſurprize him: And accordingly ſetting upon a ſudden march in the night, with about fifteen hundred horſe, he before day with great fury broke into *Lambert*'s quarters; and meeting with no reſiſtance at his firſt entry, he confidently march'd up to the middle of the town. But a captain with about forty ſoldiers

Victory over *Ker* and his party in the weſt.

ſoldiers having upon the alarm ſuddenly mounted, and being favour'd by a tree that lay croſs the ſtreet, obſtructed their march till the whole gariſon was alarm'd. The ſuddenneſs of this attempt put the *Engliſh* into ſome ſurprize; but ſoon recovering themſelves, they, to make ſure work of it, left part of their forces in the town to encounter the enemy, and to ſecure the rear, whilſt the reſt drew out with deſign to ſurround the enemy's whole party; who perceiving this in time, very dextrouſly fac'd about, and betook themſelves to flight. In this encounter, which was but ſhort, near a hundred of the *Scots* were ſlain, and as many made priſoners. *Ker* himſelf was wounded and taken, with his lieutenant-colonel and captain-lieutenant. Thoſe who fled were purſu'd as far as *Air*, where a party of a hundred and fifty, being the chief remains of the *remonſtrators*, were alſo put to the rout. This ſucceſs was the more conſiderable, in that it would have been very difficult to have engag'd them againſt their will; for they being well acquainted with the country, and having the inhabitants on their ſide, could march about as they pleas'd; whereas 'twould have been very dangerous for the *Engliſh* to have follow'd them without a great part of their army; *Leſley* then lying at *Sterling* with the *Scotch* forces, watching all advantages. 1650.

THIS ſeaſonable victory was ſoon follow'd by the ſurrender of *Edinburgh* caſtle, the moſt conſiderable ſtrong-hold in *Scotland*, which was thought impregnable by ſituation and art. It is ſeated upon a high abrupt rock, has but one entrance into it, and that both ſteep, and by which but two or three can go a-breaſt, and overlooks and commands all places about it; ſo that the lord-general's men were often very much gall'd in their quarters at *Edinburgh*, by the great guns playing from thence. The ſiege of *Edinburgh* caſtle.

WHEN general *Cromwell* came firſt before this ſtrong place, which was ſoon after the defeat at *Dunbar*,

1650. *Dunbar*, he ſummon'd the governour, colonel *William Dundaſs*, to deliver it up to him; which having no effect, he began to conſult with his chief officers how to reduce it by force. Nothing ſeem'd to encourage the attempting of it by ſtorm; and all probable ways being debated, it was at laſt reſolv'd to force it by mines. In order to this work, both *Engliſh* and *Scotch* miners were ſent for, and towards the latter end of *September*, the galleries were begun in the night; which the beſieged no ſooner ſaw, but they fell to firing upon it with five great guns, and ſeveral vollies of ſmall ſhot. But this prov'd no impediment to the *Engliſh*, who with indefatigable labour wrought thro' the earth, till they came to the main rock. This put them to a ſtand, but did not make them give over; for having contriv'd ways to make holes in the rock, they fill'd them full of powder, and endeavour'd to make it fly by firing.

BUT this mining work going but ſlowly on, the lord-general fearing it would not anſwer his deſign, and that he ſhould not be able to blow the caſtle up into the air, endeavour'd now to level it with the ground; and to that end, with mighty labour and pains, he rais'd a battery fortify'd with gabions and other contrivances, deſigning to play inceſſantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The governor was very much amaz'd at this, who now began to think it a vain thing to endeavour to withſtand the *Engliſh* induſtry; tho' it muſt be ſaid of him, that he did his utmoſt to anſwer the expectations of thoſe by whom he was entruſted with this important charge. The battery, notwithſtanding all obſtructions, being rais'd to a convenient height, four mortar-pieces and ſix battering guns were drawn from *Leith*, and forthwith mounted againſt the caſtle. But before the word of command was given, the lord-general thought fit once more to ſummon the governor; which he did on the

11th

11th of *December*, in the following terms; "That 1650.
"he being reſolv'd, by God's aſſiſtance, to uſe
"ſuch means as were put into his hands, for the
"reducing of the caſtle, did, for preventing fur-
"ther miſery, demand the rendering of the place
"to him upon fit conditions." To this the go-
vernor return'd this anſwer, "That being en-
"truſted by the committee of eſtates of *Scotland*
"for the keeping of the caſtle, he could not de-
"liver it up without leave from them: And there-
"fore he deſired ten days time to ſend to them,
"and receive their anſwer; upon receipt whereof
"the general ſhould receive his reſolute anſwer."
But the lord-general knowing his time was pre-
cious, made this ſudden reply, "That it concern'd
"not him to know the obligations of them that
"truſted him; but that he might have honoura-
"ble terms for himſelf, and thoſe that were with
"him: But he could not give liberty to him to
"conſult with the committee of eſtates, becauſe
"he heard thoſe among them that were honeſt
"enjoy'd not ſatisfaction, and the reſt were now
"diſcover'd to ſeek another intereſt than they had
"formerly pretended to; in which if he deſir'd
"to be ſatisfy'd, he might have information at a
"nearer diſtance than *St. John's-town.*"

'TWAS deſign'd, that this parly ſhould con-
tinue till ten in the morning, *December* 13. but
ſome great ſhot flying from the caſtle the night
before, order was given the next morning to try
the mortar-pieces, three with ſhells, and the fourth
with ſtones. Which being done accordingly, the
governor thereupon returned an anſwer to the ge-
neral's laſt meſſage; in which "He adjur'd him in
"the fear and name of the living God (which was
"call'd upon in the acceptance of his great truſt)
"that liberty might be granted for him to ſend to
"the committee of eſtates; and ſaid, that he
"would be very willing to receive information

"from

1650. "from thoſe of his countrymen whom he could "truſt." To this the lord-general reply'd, "That whoever he would appoint to come to "him, ſhould have liberty for one hour; but to "ſend to the committee of eſtates, he could not "grant." The governor took no notice of this, till the mortar-pieces and great guns had for ſome ſmall time play'd with great violence againſt the caſtle. This moved him to ſend forth a drum, deſiring a conference with the provoſt of *Aberdeen*, and one more then in *Edinburgh*; to which the general readily conſented: But they knowing it to be an affair of the utmoſt importance, abſolutely refus'd to concern themſelves in it, leaving the governor to take his own courſe. Hereupon *Dundaſs* was in great perplexity, and knew not what to do; till having revolv'd the matter a little in his mind, he at laſt came to this reſult, to acquit himſelf manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red enſign was immediately hung out in defiance on the top of the caſtle, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon this, the lord-general thought it high time for him to exert his utmoſt force; and accordingly ſent in upon them ſuch continual ſhowers of ſhot, that the governor in a ſhort time thought fit to beat a parley, and offer'd to ſurrender, if his former requeſt, of ſending to the committee of eſtates, might be granted. But this being ſtill refus'd, *Dundaſs* and his ſoldiers thought it not good to hold out any longer againſt ſuch violent aſſaults; and ſo entering upon a treaty with the lord-general, came to an agreement upon theſe articles: "*Firſt*, That the caſtle of *Edin-* "*burgh*, the cannon, arms, ammunition, maga- "zines, and furniture of war, be delivered up to "the lord-general *Cromwell*. *Secondly*, That the "*Scots* have liberty to carry away their publick "regiſters, publick moveables, private evidences "and

'Tis ſurrender'd to *Cromwell*.

" and writs, into *Fife* or *Sterling*. *Thirdly*, 1650.
" That as to thoſe goods in the caſtle belonging
" to any perſon whatſoever, the owners ſhould
" have them reſtored to them: This to be pro-
" claim'd, that all might take notice of it. *Fourthly*,
" That the governor, and all military officers
" and ſoldiers, might depart without moleſtation,
" carrying their arms and baggage, with drums
" beating and colours flying, to *Bruntiſland* in *Fife*:
" Moreover, the ſick and wounded ſoldiers to ſtay
" in *Edinburgh* till cured, and then to receive the
" ſame benefit of articles with the reſt of their
" fellows."

ACCORDING to theſe articles, this ſtrong caſtle, which gloried in its virginity, as having never before yielded to any conqueror, was, after a ſiege of three months, deliver'd up to the victorious *Cromwell* on the 24th day of *December*; whereby there alſo fell into his hands fifty three pieces of ordnance, ſome of them remarkable both for ſize and beauty, eight thouſand arms, fourſcore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapeſtry and jewels. The ſubduing of this place was a thing ſo unexpected by ſeveral, that the *Scots* cry'd out, *That* Cromwell *took it only by ſilver bullets*. But what appeared moſt ſtrange to others, and which made well on general *Cromwell*'s ſide, was, That the *Scotch* army, which lay not very far off, ſhould never attempt the relief of this moſt important place.

THE main buſineſs the *Scots* were now intent upon, was the coronation of the king; which had been long delay'd by the kirk and ſtates, that he might have time to *humble himſelf for his father's ſins and his own tranſgreſſions*. But the vigorous proceedings of the *Engliſh* put them at laſt upon haſtening that which they of themſelves were backward enough in. The firſt of *January* was appointed for this ſolemnity, which was perform'd at *Scone*, with the greateſt

The king crown'd at *Scone*.

1650. greateſt pomp and magnificence that the preſent ſtate of the nation was capable of. His majeſty having ſubſcribed both the covenants, the marquis of *Argyle* ſet the crown upon his head; at which the people expreſs'd their joy by their loud acclamations of, *God ſave king* Charles *the ſecond.* The main deſign now was to form ſuch an army, as might not only ſecure what they had ſtill in their hands, but drive the *Engliſh* (whom they now call'd the *common enemy*) quite out of their country. To effect this, all perſons were now promiſcuouſly admitted into the army, commiſſions were granted for raiſing horſe and foot, and new commanders were appointed. His majeſty ſet up his royal ſtandard at *Aberdeen*, to which great numbers of volunteers and honorary ſoldiers flock'd from all parts. From thence he marched to *Sterling*; where having muſter'd his army, he made duke *Hamilton* his lieutenant-general, *David Leſley* major-general, *Middleton* major-general of the horſe, and *Maſſey* general of the *Engliſh* troops.

Colonel *Fenwick* reduces *Hume-caſtle.*

THE lord-general *Cromwell* obſerving theſe proceedings, was very little concern'd at them. However, to make ſure work, he endeavour'd to poſſeſs himſelf of all thoſe garriſons of the *Scots*, which were on the ſouth ſide of the *Frith.* To this end, he order'd colonel *Fenwick* with his own regiment, and colonel *Syler*'s, to reduce *Hume-caſtle* under his obedience. *Fenwick* immediately upon his receiving theſe orders, applied himſelf accordingly to the work; and having drawn his men up before the caſtle, ſent a ſummons to the governor, as follows: "His excellency, the lord-general *Cromwell*, hath "commanded me to reduce this caſtle, you now "poſſeſs, under his obedience; which if you now "deliver into my hands, for his ſervice, you ſhall "have terms for yourſelf and thoſe with you: If "you refuſe, I doubt not but in a ſhort time, by "God's aſſiſtance, to obtain what I now demand.

"I

" I expect your anſwer by ſeven of the clock to- 1650.
" morrow morning, and reſt your ſervant, *George*
" *Fenwick*."

THE governor, whoſe name was *Cockburn*, being, it ſeems, a man of fancy, returned him this quibbling anſwer: " Right honourable, I have re-
" ceiv'd a trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, with-
" out a paſs, to ſurrender *Hume-caſtle* to the lord-
" general *Cromwell*: Pleaſe you, I never ſaw your
" general. As for *Hume-caſtle*, it ſtands upon a
" rock. Given at *Hume-caſtle* this day before ſe-
" ven a-clock. So reſteth, without prejudice to
" my native country, your moſt humble ſervant,
" *Tho. Cockburn*." And ſoon after he ſent the colonel theſe lines:

I William *of the Waſtle*
Am now in my caſtle:
And awe the dogs in the town
Shan't gar me gang down.

BUT the governor did not long continue in this merry humour: For *Fenwick* having planted a battery againſt the caſtle, and made a ſmall breach, as the *Engliſh* was juſt ready to enter, *Cockburn* beat a parley. But the colonel would now allow only quarter for life; which being accepted, the governor with his garriſon, being ſeventy eight commanders and private ſoldiers, march'd out of the caſtle; which captain *Collinſon* with his company immediately enter'd, to keep it for the parliament.

COLONEL *Monk* was alſo detatch'd with about three regiments of horſe and foot, to reduce *Tantallon-caſtle*. Being come before it, he found the *Scots* very refractory, whereupon he caus'd the mortar-pieces to play for eight and forty hours: But theſe did little execution; till ſix battering guns being planted, were ſo well manag'd, that the governor

Colonel *Monk* reduces *Tantallon-caſtle*.

1650. vernour and thoſe that were with him were forc'd to ſubmit to mercy.

Proceedings of the king and his party. 1651.

THE king having now got ſome authority, viſited all the garriſons in *Fife*, and endeavoured to put them in ſuch a poſture as to hinder the *Engliſh* from landing on that ſide the *Frith*. To this end alſo he drew from *Sterling* ſuch horſe and foot as could be well ſpar'd, and quarter'd them all along the water-ſide. Then he viſited the highlanders, endeavouring to compoſe the diſſentions that were amongſt them, and to prevail on them to riſe unanimouſly for him. *Middleton* marched out of theſe parts with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot: And about the ſame time, the town of *Dundee*, as a teſtimony of their great reſpect to the King, and to ſhew their forwardneſs in promoting his intereſt, advanced at their own charge a compleat well arm'd regiment of horſe, whom they ſent with a ſtately tent, and ſix field-pieces with carriages and ammunition, as a preſent to his majeſty then at *Sterling*; where all being join'd, made up an army of twenty thouſand men. And endeavours were ſtill uſed for augmenting this army; for which purpoſe, the earl of *Eglanton*, with ſome other commanders, were ſent into the *Weſt*, to raiſe what forces they could. Theſe coming to *Dunbarton* to execute their commiſſions, were ſuddenly ſurpriz'd by a party of horſe ſent thither by colonel *Lilburn*, for that purpoſe; who took the earl himſelf, his ſon colonel *Montgomery*, lieutenant-colonel *Colburn*, *&c.* and brought them priſoners to *Edinburgh*.

Great care of the parliament in providing ſupplies for the army.

IN the mean time, the parliament of *England* had a ſpecial regard to their army in *Scotland*, providing for their welfare in all reſpects. They took care to procure ſufficient ſupplies both of men, money and proviſions, which they were continually ſending away to them; ſo that never was an army better provided for than this, as no ſoldiers ever deſerv'd better encouragement than theſe. Particularly,

cularly, admiral *Dean* arrived about this time at *Leith* with large ſupplies from *London*; and amongſt other conveniencies, brought along with him ſeven and twenty great flat-bottom'd boats, for tranſporting the army over into *Fife*. And not long after, captain *Butler* arriv'd at the ſame place in the *Succeſs* (a ſtout ſhip formerly taken from the *French*) with eighty thouſand pounds for the payment of the ſoldiers. 1650.

The ſickneſs of the general.

THE lord-general *Cromwell* had for ſome time laboured under a very great indiſpoſition, occaſioned by the unſuitableneſs of the climate, and the extreme rigour of the winter ſeaſon in thoſe parts. This confin'd him wholly to his chamber, and utterly diſabled him to act in perſon with the army, how great occaſion ſoever there might be. Now was the *Engliſh* army under very ſad apprehenſions; and yet they were not ſo much dejected and diſheartned, as the *Scots* were elevated and tranſported at this news; who highly pleas'd themſelves with the very fancy of his death; and thereupon readily believ'd the ſlighteſt report of it to be true; and when once the conceit had poſſeſs'd them, could ſcarce by any means be brought to believe the contrary; ſo that a *Scotch* trumpeter coming out of *Fife* to *Edinburgh*, about the reſtoration of a ſhip which the *Engliſh* had taken, very confidently affirmed to the ſoldiers, that their general was dead; and ſaid, they did well to conceal it, but all the world ſhould not make him believe otherwiſe. This coming to the general's ear, who was now in a very fair way of recovery, to convince the man of his miſtake, he order'd him to be brought before him. And the conceit was ſo ſtrongly fix'd in him, that nothing but this could have removed it. However, being now effectually convinc'd, he at his return aſſur'd thoſe who ſent him of the falſity of this report, which had paſs'd ſo currently in the *Scotch* army. After the lord-general had been

1651. ſomewhat recover'd, he fell into a very dangerous relapſe, which, if he had not been of an extraordinary ſtrong conſtitution, might have ended his days. But the rulers in *England*, very much fearing the loſs of their general, as knowing no man ſo fit for that high employment, firſt of all ſent him two eminent phyſicians, Dr. *Wright* and Dr. *Bates*; and preſently after, diſpatch'd an order into *Scotland*, permitting him to leave the buſineſs of the army, and repair into *England*, for the recovery of his health and ſtrength, as thinking the air of *Scotland* might be the occaſion of his illneſs. Upon the receipt of this, he wrote a letter to the lord preſident of the council of ſtate, dated *June* 3d, which is as follows:

His letter to the council of ſtate.

" My lord, I have received yours of the 27th " of *May*, with an order of parliament for my li- " berty to return into *England*, for change of air, " that thereby I might the better recover my " health: All which came unto me, whilſt Dr. " *Wright* and Dr. *Bates*, whom your lordſhip ſent " down, were with me. I ſhall not need to re- " peat the extremity of my laſt ſickneſs: It was ſo " violent, that indeed my nature was not able to " bear the weight thereof; but the Lord was pleas'd " to deliver me beyond expectation, and to give " me cauſe to ſay once more, *He hath plucked me* " *out of the grave.* My lord, the indulgence of " the parliament, expreſs'd by their order, is a very " high and undeſerved favour; of which, altho' " it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I " judge it would be too much preſumption in me " not to return a particular acknowledgment. I " beſeech you, give me the boldneſs to return my " humble thankfulneſs to the council, for ſending " two ſuch worthy perſons ſo great a journey to " viſit me; from whom I have received much en- " couragement and good direction for recovery of " my health and ſtrength, which I find, by the

" goodneſs

" goodneſs of God, growing towards ſuch a ſtate, 1651.
" as may yet, if it be his good will, render me uſe-
" ful according to my poor ability, in the ſtation
" wherein he hath ſet me. I wiſh more ſteadineſs
" in your affairs here, than to depend in the leaſt
" upon ſo frail a thing as I am: Indeed they do
" not, nor own any inſtrument, *This cauſe is of*
" *God, and it muſt proſper.* Oh! that all that
" have any hand therein, being ſo perſuaded,
" would gird up the loins of their minds, and
" endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the
" Lord. So prays, my lord, your moſt humble
" ſervant, *O. Cromwell.*"

A Presbyterian plot.

ABOUT this time a plot was diſcover'd in *England*, which had been carried on by the Preſbyterian party, and chiefly by the miniſters of that perſuaſion, in order to promote the deſigns of their *Scotiſh* brethren, and help forward his majeſty's reſtoration to the *Engliſh* throne, as a king under ſufficient limitations, and now in covenant with them. For this Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Caſe*, and Mr. *Drake*, very eminent Preſbyterian divines, beſides ſome others of the laity, were apprehended by order of the council of ſtate. *Jenkins*, *Caſe*, and *Drake*, confeſs'd themſelves guilty, and, that the party might not be too much irritated, were upon their humble ſubmiſſion pardon'd. But *Love*, as being more guilty than any of the reſt, was, together with one *Gibbons*, beheaded on *Tower-hill*, on the 22d of *Auguſt*. He was condemn'd on *July* 5, and the day of execution was appointed to be on the 15th, before which time many petitions were preſented from himſelf and his friends to the parliament, for ſaving his life, but to no purpoſe; till on the very day that was appointed for his execution, ſeveral miniſters, in and about *London*, came to the houſe, " Praying earneſtly, and in the " bowels of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who, when they were " ſinners, died for them, if not totally to ſpare the

For which Mr. *Love* is executed.

1951. "life of their *dear brother*, that yet they would "ſay of him as *Solomon* of *Abiathar*, That *at this* "*time he ſhall not be put to death.*" Upon this he was repriev'd for one month; during which time all poſſible ſollicitations were us'd to thoſe in power, and particular application was made to the lord-general *Cromwell* in *Scotland*, who ſent back a letter ſignifying his free conſent to the pardon of him: But ſome cavaliers ſtopping the poſt-boy, and ſearching his packet, with great indignation tore the lord-general's letter, that concern'd Mr. *Love*, as thinking he deſerv'd not to live, who, according to them, had been ſuch an incendiary in the treaty at *Uxbridge*. And ſo the parliament and council of ſtate hearing nothing from the general, they took it for granted, that his ſilence was deſign'd as an abſolute denial; upon which *Love* was executed on the foreſaid day.

The general prepares for action.

GENERAL *Cromwell* was no ſooner able to ſtir abroad, but with eager deſire of action, he conſulted with his chief officers to carry on the war. For this purpoſe it was thought proper to contract their quarters, by drawing in the out-guards, or petty garriſons which were of little uſe, and were often very much moleſted by the *Scots*. And now the army being thus drawn together into one body, were ſupply'd with thirty-three waggons and carriages for the train from *Berwick*; and all things being in readineſs for the campaign, the lord-general, on *June 24th*, order'd the army to advance to *Redhaugh*, where they ſtaid not long, but march'd from thence to *Pencland* hills, a place well known to the *Engliſh*. Here they encamp'd in a moſt comely and regular order; and the lord-general feaſted his officers in his tent, with ſeveral of their ladies, as the lady *Lambert*, and major-general *Dean*'s lady, and many other *Engliſh* gentlewomen, who came from *Leith* to ſee the ſoldiers in their tents.

THE

THE army having continu'd ſome ſmall time in this poſture, the lord-general, in order to carry on the preſent deſign, march'd them away to *Newbridge*, and from thence to *Lithgow*; where, from the battlements of the caſtle, they could diſcern the tents of the *Scotch* army, which lay encamp'd at *Torwood* near *Sterling*; where they were guarded with regular fortifications, the horſe in great bodies lying about them for ſecurity, who were alſo fenced with a river and with bogs; ſo that the *Engliſh* could not poſſibly drive them out of this faſtneſs. However, the lord-general, to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, march'd his army in battalia ſo near their main body, that their tents might be perfectly ſeen; and ſo ſtood for the ſpace of eight hours, waiting for the coming of the *Scots*; who thinking it better to ſpin out time than to put all to the hazard of a battle, would not come out to engage. Hereupon, the lord-general drew off his army to *Glaſgow*, where having ſomewhat refreſh'd his wearied men, he march'd them back again; and underſtanding that the *Scots* had remov'd their camp to *Kelſith*, he wheel'd about, and ſhortly after quarter'd his army at *Monks-land*, within four miles of the enemy. But they ſtill refus'd to engage, and the general could not attack them without the greateſt hazard. 1651. He marches towards the enemy.

THIS ſo provok'd him, that he reſolv'd to fall upon part of their forces that defended *Calendar-houſe*. And ſo on the 15th of *July*, he order'd two battering guns to be planted, which having play'd with great violence for about eight hours, at laſt beat down the walls in ſeveral places. Notwithſtanding which, the governour expecting relief from the *Scotch* army, which lay in ſight of him, reſolv'd to hold out to the utmoſt. Upon which, the lord-general ſent ten files out of every regiment to force them out, ſince they could not be prevail'd on to ſubmit. Theſe brave fellows having provided He takes *Calendar-houſe*.

1651. themſelves with faggots, preſently unloaded themſelves into the enemy's moat, and ſo ſpringing over into the breach, in half an hour's time wholly poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſe, having ſlain the governour, with ſixty-two of his men. The *Scotch* army all this while looked on, and, as if they were not at all concern'd in the matter, did not ſend one hand to the relief of their friends.

THE lord-general finding that he could by no means provoke the *Scots* to a battle, reſolv'd now to bid fair for *Fife*, that thereby he might cut off thoſe ſupplies from them that enabled them to protract time and prolong the war. Accordingly, immediately after the taking of *Calendar-houſe*, the valiant colonel *Overton*, with ſixteen hundred foot and four troops of horſe, put out into the *Forth*, being order'd to land at the *North-ferry* in *Fife*; which he did in ſpight of thoſe ſhowers of great and ſmall ſhot that were pour'd upon him as he approach'd the ſhoar; in return to which he cauſed his men to fire upon them out of the boats; which they did with ſo much courage and bravery, that the *Scots* were forc'd to break off the diſpute, and betake themſelves to flight, leaving behind them part of their arms and artillery. In the mean time, general *Cromwell* kept cloſe up to the *Scots* with the main body of his army, intending to fall upon their rear, in caſe they mov'd to diſturb this enterprize. However, the king ſent major-general *Brown* and colonel *Holborn* with four thouſand men to force the enemy out of *Fife* again; but before they could come up to them, *Lambert* and *Okey* paſs'd over the *Forth* with two regiments of horſe and two of foot, and join'd with *Overton*. And ſo the *Engliſh*, with this unexpected reinforcement falling upon *Brown* and *Holborn*, entirely defeated them, killing two thouſand upon the ſpot, and taking priſoners major-general *Brown* himſelf, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains,

The battle of *Fife*.

captain, ſeventeen lieutenants, twenty-nine enſigns, five quarter-maſters, ſix and twenty ſerjeants, five and twenty corporals, and above twelve hundred common ſoldiers, with two and forty colours of horſe and foot. *Brown* being thus defeated and reduc'd to the condition of a priſoner, liv'd not long after; dying, as was thought, of very grief for this ſad diſaſter. Thus the *Engliſh* got ſure footing on the other ſide of the *Frith*; and this overthrow prov'd the bane of the *Scotch* affairs. 1651.

The fort *Inneſgary* taken.

SOON after this blow, the *Engliſh* took in garriſons almoſt as faſt as they approach'd them. *Lambert*, in the firſt place, came before a ſtrong fort call'd *Inneſgary*, ſituated in an iſle lying in the *Frith*, betwixt *Queen's-ferry* and the paſs into *Fife*. The garriſon here was ſo terrified at the news of the late overthrow, that being ſummoned by *Lambert*, they were content to march away with only their ſwords by their ſides, and deliver up the fort, with all the arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and ſixteen pieces of ordnance, to the *Engliſh*. About this time, a miniſter, and two ſtudents came from *Angus* to the lord-general *Cromwell* for protection: One of them was excommunicated for not anſwering the two following queſtions: 1. *Whether Preſbyterian government in* Scotland *be not in all things conform to the word of God?* 2. *Whether* Cromwell *be not antichriſtian?*

General *Cromwell* follows the *Scotch* army.

THE news of the defeat in *Fife* being brought to the king, who ſtill lay ſtrongly encamp'd in *Torwood*, occaſion'd ſo great a conſternation in his army, that with great precipitation he decamp'd, and march'd into *Sterling* park. General *Cromwell* follow'd ſpeedily after them in the rear, and marching over the ground where they ſo lately lay, he perceiv'd with what a pannic fear they had been ſeiz'd: For they had left behind them all their ſick men, one barrel of powder, three of ball, a great deal of match, many muſkets, and three barrels of hand-

1651. granadoes. The lord-general followed them within two miles of *Sterling*, endeavouring to provoke them to an engagement, but all in vain, they making all the haſte they could to ſecure themſelves. Hereupon the general, perceiving it was to no purpoſe to continue here, on the 22d of *July* march'd away his army to *Lithgow*; from whence he caus'd the greateſt part of them to be tranſported over into *Fife*, with the train of artillery, in order to carry on the war on the other ſide of the water. The general himſelf retir'd to *Leith*, to provide for the ſupply of his ſoldiers; and here he receiv'd the welcome news of the ſurrender of *Bruntiſland* to *Lambert*; who having brought the army before it, the governour of the place was ſo diſmay'd, that after a ſhort parley he deliver'd it up on theſe conditions: "*Firſt*, that the ſoldiers in garriſon (being about five hundred) ſhould march away with colours flying. *Secondly*, That the inhabitants of the town ſhould have what belong'd to them. *Thirdly*, That all proviſions of war, together with all guns and ſhipping of war, ſhould be deliver'd up for the uſe of the commonwealth of *England*." This place was of great advantage to the *Engliſh*; for it being a very commodious harbour, the army might from thence, in the courſe of their conqueſts, have continued ſupplies of all that was neceſſary and convenient for them.

Bruntiſland ſurrender'd to *Lambert*.

The general paſſes over into *Fife*.

GENERAL *Cromwell* having ſettled matters at *Leith*, immediately croſs'd the *Frith* to his army, which was then at *Bruntiſland*; and ſo diſpatching *Whalley* to reduce the ſmaller garriſons upon the coaſt of *Fife*, and leaving colonel *Wolf*'s regiment in *Bruntiſland*, he with the reſt of the army and train of artillery, on the 30th of *July*, march'd away towards *St. John's-town*; that by reducing that important place under his power, he might prevent the *Highlanders* from ſending any ſupplies, either of men or proviſions, to *Sterling*. Being come be-

fore

fore it, he ſent this ſummons to the town. "That "being inform'd the town was void of a garriſon, "ſave the inhabitants and ſome few countrymen, "he requir'd them to deliver the ſame to him im- "mediately; promiſing to ſecure their perſons "from violence, and their goods from plunder." The meſſenger who carried this ſummons, was, contrary to the expectation of the *Engliſh*, deny'd admittance, and came back with this ſhort reply from the townſmen, *That they were not in a capacity to receive any letters.* But to excuſe the matter, the magiſtrates ſoon ſent after him a meſſage, declaring, "That the king's majeſty had ſent a very "ſtrong party, able to maintain the town, and "overpower them with a governour: But always "to obſerve civility with his lordſhip, they had "obtain'd leave from the governour to excuſe "themſelves, by ſhewing how unable they were to "treat." It ſeems, the lord *Duffus* had the day before enter'd the town with thirteen hundred men; but the lord-general, upon his refuſal of the new ſummons which he ſent him, having drained the water out of the moats round about the town, and batter'd the walls with his cannon, oblig'd him to ſurrender in a day's time. 1651. He takes *St. John's-town.*

THESE wonderful ſucceſſes, which attended the *Engliſh* arms, threw the king's affairs in *Scotland* into great perplexity and diſtreſs; whereupon he began to think of making an irruption into *England*. He was now much nearer *England* than general *Cromwell*, who could not poſſibly overtake him, till after his majeſty had been ſome days march before him. His fate depended upon the ſucceſs of one battle; and he had reaſon to believe, that all the northern parts of *England* were well-affected to him; whither, if he could once reach, he might hope to increaſe his army by the acceſſion of ſuch men as would render it much more conſiderable. Upon this, it was reſolv'd, that the army ſhould with The king in great perplexity.

1651. with all poſſible expedition advance into *England*, by the neareſt ways that led into *Lancaſhire*; whither his majeſty ſent expreſſes to his friends in thoſe parts, that they might have their ſoldiers in a readineſs to receive him. He alſo ſent an expreſs to the earl of *Derby*, who was then in the *Iſle of Man*, requiring him to meet him in *Lancaſhire*. The marquis of *Argyle* was the only perſon who diſſuaded the king from marching into *England*, and that with no inconſiderable arguments; but the contrary opinion prevailing, *Argyle* retir'd to his houſe in the *Highlands*: And ſo, on the laſt day of *July*, the king began his march from *Sterling*, and on the 6th of *Auguſt* enter'd *England* by the way of *Carliſle* with an army of about ſixteen thouſand men.

His army enters *England*.

THE noiſe of this ſudden invaſion gave a moſt terrible alarm to the whole nation, eſpecially to the parliament at *Weſtminſter*, who were ſtill more diſmay'd at the reports of the greatneſs of the king's army, and his deſign of mounting his foot-ſoldiers, and advancing directly to *London*. They were now ready to paſs ſevere cenſures on the lord-general *Cromwell*, and condemned him of raſhneſs and precipitation; whilſt he in the mean time took care to ſatisfy them as well as he could, and aſſur'd them, "That he would overtake the ene-"my, and give a good account of them, before "they ſhould give them any trouble." Accordingly, that he might loſe no time, he order'd major-general *Lambert* "To follow the king immediately "with ſeven or eight hundred horſe, and to draw "as many others as he could from the country "militia; and to moleſt the king's march as "much as poſſible, by being near, and obliging "him to march cloſe; not engaging his own party "in any ſharp actions, without a very manifeſt ad-"vantage, but keeping himſelf entire till he ſhould "come up to him."

General *Cromwell* ſends *Lambert* after him.

THE

THE parliament alſo exerted themſelves to the utmoſt on this occaſion. The militia of moſt counties was order'd to be drawn into the field, to obſtruct the king's march. Two thouſand out of *Staffordſhire*, and four thouſand out of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, under the command of colonel *Birch*, join'd with *Lambert* and *Harriſon*. The lord *Fairfax* drew out into the field with a formidable body, to flank the king's army; the militia of the city of *London* was commanded out, and all the adjacent counties were ſtrictly enjoyn'd by the parliament to ſet out horſe and men at their own charges. An act was alſo publiſhed, wherein it was declared, "That no perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to hold any correſpondence with *Charles Stuart*, or with his party, or with any of them, nor give any intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or aſſiſt any of them; nor voluntarily afford, or cauſe to be afforded or delivered unto any of them, any victuals, proviſions, ammunition, arms, horſes, plate, money, men, or any other relief whatſoever, under pain of high-treaſon: And that all perſons ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to hinder and ſtop their march." 1651. The parliament's proceedings againſt him.

THE lord-general *Cromwell* being now ready to march into *England* in purſuit of the *Scotch* army, endeavour'd to ſettle the affairs of *Scotland* in ſuch a poſture, as effectually to ſecure what was already obtain'd; and gave all the neceſſary orders to lieutenant-general *Monk*, whom he reſolved to leave behind him with a ſtrong party of foot, and ſuch troops of horſe, as might be able to quell any forces which ſhould riſe after his departure. This done, the victorious *Cromwell*, with the remainder of the army, marched out of *Scotland*, and on the 12th of *Auguſt* croſſed the *Tine*: With which ſwift march being quite wearied out, he caus'd the army The general leaving *Monk* in *Scotland* marches into *England*.

1651. army to pitch their tents on *Ryſon-Haugh*, upon the brink of the *Tine*, whilſt himſelf took up his quarters at *Stelley*-houſe, not far from his ſoldiers. The mayor of *Newcaſtle* underſtanding that the army was near the town, immediately went out, accompanied with the reſt of the magiſtrates, to congratulate the lord-general's arrival in *England*; and that they might be the more welcome to the ſoldiers, carried along with them, bread, cheeſe, biſket, and beer, for the refreſhment of the army. Theſe ſupplies were very ſeaſonable, and enabled the ſoldiers chearfully to continue their march.

The march of the *Scots*.

THE *Scots* in the mean time by a ſwift march went on in proſecution of their preſent deſign. The king led them through *Lancaſhire*, where at the head of his army he was in all the market-towns he paſs'd through proclaim'd king of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for beſides that the *Scots* daily deſerted him, the country did not come into him as he believed they would, being continually obſtructed by the forces of the commonwealth, which ſpread themſelves over all places. The king with his army marched on towards *Warrington* on the borders of *Cheſhire*, the paſſage of which bridge was ſharply conteſted by *Lambert* and his party, but was at laſt obtain'd by the king, the *Scots*, as they fell on, crying out, *Oh you Rogues! We will be with you before your* Cromwell *comes*. The king reſolv'd to continue his march with the ſame expedition as he had us'd hitherto, till they ſhould come to ſuch a poſt where they might ſecurely reſt themſelves; which the poor ſoldiers very much deſir'd, being extremely fatigu'd with the length of their march, and the heat of the ſeaſon. His majeſty hoping the intereſt that major-general *Maſſey* had in *Gloceſterſhire*, would draw a great many in to him from thoſe parts, reſolved to direct his march that way.

way. At laſt looking upon *Worceſter* as a proper place, he determined to ſettle there with his army; and accordingly, on the 23d day of *Auguſt*, he enter'd that city with very little oppoſition; where he reſolv'd to abide, and expect the coming of his enemy; and that he might not be wanting in any thing, that might tend to the preſervation of himſelf and forces, he order'd works to be raiſed for better ſecurity. Then he ſent a ſummons to colonel *Mackworth* governour of *Shrewſbury*, inviting him to yield up that garriſon to him; to which the governour return'd a preremptory denial. He alſo ſent letters to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to raiſe forces for him in *Montgomeryſhire*; but Sir *Thomas* detain'd the meſſenger priſoner, and ſent up the letter to the parliament. A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters at *Worceſter*, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the earl of *Derby*. This brave man was the only perſon, who made any conſiderable attempt to ſupport the king. He got together a body of fifteen hundred horſe; but before he could join the king's army, colonel *Lilbourn* ſet upon him near *Wiggan*, and entirely routed him. The earl himſelf being wounded, retreated into *Cheſhire*, with about eighty horſe, and from thence to the king at *Worceſter*.

1651. They come to *Worceſter*.

In the mean time, general *Cromwell* having refreſh'd his ſoldiers near *Newcaſtle*, immediately march'd away by *Rippon*, *Ferry-briggs*, *Doncaſter*, *Mansfield* and *Coventry*; and at *Keinton* join'd with the reſt of the parliament's forces, under lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, major-general *Deſborough*, the lord *Grey* of *Groby*, major-general *Lambert*, and major-general *Harriſon*; making in all about thirty thouſand men. The commonwealth had indeed by their new levies increaſed their forces to a prodigious number; and *England* never before produced ſo many ſoldiers in ſo ſhort

General *Cromwell* marches after them.

651. a time: For the ſtanding army, with thoſe other forces newly rais'd by act of parliament, upon this occaſion, are ſaid to have amounted to above ſixty thouſand men.

THE lord-general being come up, and having obſerv'd the poſture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon *Upton-bridge*, ſeven miles from *Worceſter*, deſigning there, if poſſible, to paſs over his army. *Lambert* was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detatch'd a ſmall party of horſe and dragoons, to ſee how feaſible the enterprize might be. This party coming to the bridge, found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this theſe daring fellows paſs'd, who finding the *Scots* took the alarm, preſently betook themſelves to a church for ſecurity. Hereupon *Maſſey*, who lay at *Upton* with about ſixty dragoons, and two hundred horſe, gave a camiſado on the church; but major-general *Lambert*, having in the mean time paſs'd over a new ſupply of horſe, fell furiouſly upon the enemy's party, and over-powering them, forc'd them to a retreat; which *Maſſey* ſupported with ſo much bravery, that ſometimes facing, then fighting, and ſo falling off, himſelf brought up the rear, and never quitted his ſtation, till he arriv'd with his men at *Worceſter*. In this encounter his horſe was kill'd under him, and he receiv'd a ſhot in his arm. The bridge being thus gain'd, all poſſible induſtry was uſed to make it up; ſo that lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*'s army quickly paſs'd over; which ſtill marching forward, they laid a bridge over the *Teame*, which falls into the *Severn*, about a mile beneath *Worceſter*: And the general, in the mean time, cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Severn* on his ſide; and this for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more ſtraiten'd.

THE

THE *Scots* drawing out to oppoſe the lieutenant-general's paſſage, the lord-general reſolved to divert their deſign, or to oblige them to fight on great diſadvantage: To which end, himſelf in perſon led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel *Hacker*'s horſe, and his own life-guard, on that ſide of *Worceſter*, which he deſign'd to attack. Whilſt this was doing, lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, aſſiſted by colonel *Goff*'s and major-general *Dean*'s regiments of foot, maintain'd a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the *Scots* had lin'd thick with muſqueteers, judging that to be the ſafeſt way. And indeed they ſtoutly maintain'd their ground, till colonel *Blake*'s, *Gibbon*'s and *Marſh*'s regiments came in and join'd with the others againſt them; upon which they retreated to *Powick-bridge*, where they were again engag'd by colonel *Hains*, *Cobbet* and *Matthews*; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at laſt to ſecure themſelves by flying into *Worceſter*. 1651.

PRESENTLY after, the king calling a council of war, it was reſolved to engage *Cromwell* himſelf. Accordingly, they on a ſudden ſally'd out againſt him with ſo much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not ſuſtain the ſhock, but was forced to retire in ſome diſorder; and his cannon likewiſe were for ſome time in the power of the king's party: But multitudes of freſh forces coming in, at laſt turn'd the ſcale on *Cromwell*'s ſide. The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceneſs and various ſucceſs, till the *Scots* being overpower'd by *Cromwell*'s ſuperior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confuſion to ſecure themſelves. The horſe made as faſt as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being cloſely purſu'd by ſome of the conquerors, who furiouſly flew thro' all the ſtreets, doing ſuch terrible execution, that there was nothing to be

He totally defeats them in the battle of Worceſter.

1651. be ſeen for ſome time but blood and ſlaughter. As ſoon as the lord-general had forced his way through *Sudbury-gate*, whilſt this party were killing and ſlaying all they met with, he with ſome regiments ran up to the *Fort-royal*, commanded by colonel *Drummond*; and being juſt about to ſtorm, he firſt ventur'd his perſon thro' whole ſhowers of ſhot to offer the *Scots* quarter, if they would preſently ſubmit, and deliver up the fort; which they refuſing, he ſoon reduced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the ſword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time very conſiderable parties were ſent after the flying enemy, and the country every where roſe upon them. The ſlain in this battle were reckoned about four thouſand, and the priſoners taken in the fight and in the purſuit amounted to about ten thouſand; ſo that near all were loſt. The chief of the priſoners were duke *Hamilton* (brother of the late duke) who died ſoon after of his wounds; the earl of *Derby*, who not long after was ſentenc'd to death, and loſt his head at *Bolton*; the earls of *Lauderdale*, *Carnwarth*, *Rothes*, and *Kelley*; the lord *Sinclare*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, major-general *Montgomery*, major-general *Piſcoty*, Mr. *Richard Fanſhaw* ſecretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; beſides ſeveral colonels, and other inferior officers. There were alſo taken all their artillery and baggage, a hundred and fifty-eight colours, the king's ſtandard, his coach and horſes, and ſeveral other things of great value. The king eſcaped, and having wandered for ſome time in diſguiſe about *England*, he at laſt found means to embark, and landed ſafely at *Diepe* in *France*. This great victory, which was juſtly look'd upon as the deciſion of the grand cauſe between the king and the commonwealth, was obtain'd by general *Cromwell* on the

the third of *September*, the ſame day twelve-month, 1651.
that the *Scots* had ſuch a defeat given them by his
forces at *Dunbar*, as loſt them their kingdom.
Cromwell's word was the ſame as at *Dunbar*, *The
Lord of hoſts*. The next day the lord-general ſent
a letter to the parliament; which was as follows:

His letter to the parliament thereupon.

"I AM not able yet to give you an exact ac-
"count of the great things the Lord hath done for
"this commonwealth, and for his people; and yet
"I am unwilling to be ſilent, but according to my
"duty I ſhall repreſent it to you, as it comes to
"hand. This battle was fought with various ſuc-
"ceſs for ſome hours, but ſtill hopeful on your
"part, and in the end became an abſolute victory,
"and ſo full an one, as proved a total defeat and
"ruin of the enemy's army, and poſſeſſion of the
"town; our men entring at the enemy's heels,
"and fighting with them in the ſtreets with very
"great courage, took all their baggage and artil-
"lery. What the ſlain are, I can give you no ac-
"count, becauſe we have not taken an exact view;
"but they are very many, and muſt needs be ſo,
"becauſe the diſpute was long, and very near at
"hand, and often at puſh of pike, and from one
"defence to another. There are about ſix or ſe-
"ven thouſand priſoners taken here, and many
"officers and noblemen of quality; duke *Hamil-
"ton*, the earl of *Rothes*, and divers other noble-
"men; I hear, the earl of *Lauderdale*, many offi-
"cers of great quality, and ſome that will be fit
"objects of your juſtice. We have ſent very con-
"ſiderable parties after the flying enemy: I hear
"they have taken conſiderable numbers of priſo-
"ners, and are very cloſe in the purſuit. Indeed,
"I hear the country riſeth upon them every-where;
"and I believe the forces that lay thro' providence
"at *Bewdley*, and in *Shropſhire* and *Staffordſhire*,
"and thoſe with colonel *Lilburne*, were in a con-
"dition, as if this had been foreſeen, to intercept

1651. " what ſhould return. A more particular account
" than this will be prepared for you, as we are able.
" I heard they had not many more than a thouſand
" horſe in their body that fled, and I believe we
" have near four thouſand forces following and in-
" terpoſing between them and home. Their army
" was about ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, and fought
" ours on *Worceſter*-ſide *Severn*, almoſt with their
" whole, whilſt we had engaged half our army on
" the other ſide, but with parties of theirs. Indeed
" it was a ſtiff buſineſs; yet I do not think we
" have loſt two hundred men. Your new-rais'd
" forces did perform ſingular good ſervice, for
" which they deſerve a very high eſtimation and
" acknowledgment, as alſo for their willingneſs
" thereunto, foraſmuch as the ſame hath added ſo
" much to the reputation of your affairs. They
" are all diſpatch'd home again; which, I hope,
" will be much for the eaſe and ſatisfaction of the
" country, which is a great fruit of the ſucceſſes."

" The dimenſions of this mercy are above my
" thoughts; it is, for ought I know, a *crowning*
" mercy; ſurely, if it be not, ſuch a one we ſhall
" have, if this provoke thoſe that are concern'd in
" it to thankfulneſs, and the parliament to do the
" will of him, who hath done his will for it, and
" for the nation; whoſe good pleaſure is, to eſta-
" bliſh the nation, and the change of the govern-
" ment, by making the people ſo willing to the
" defence thereof, and ſo ſignally to bleſs the en-
" deavours of your ſervants in this late great work.
" I am bold, humbly to beg, that all thoughts may
" tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath
" wrought ſo great ſalvation, and that the fatneſs
" of theſe continued mercies may not occaſion pride
" and wantonneſs, as formerly the like hath done
" to a choſen people. But that the fear of the
" Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an autho-
" rity, and a people ſo proſpered, and bleſſed, and

" witneſſed

" witneſſed to, humble and faithful; that juſtice 1651.
" and righteouſneſs, mercy and truth may flow
" from you, as a thankful return to our glorious
" God: This ſhall be the prayer of, Sir, your moſt
" humble and obedient ſervant, *O. Cromwell.*"

CHAP. V.

From the battle of Worceſter, *to the forcible diſſolution of the* Long Parliament.

GENERAL *Cromwell* having given this deadly blow to the *Scots*, and to all the king's party, ſtaid no longer at *Worceſter*, than to ſee the walls of it levell'd with the ground, and the dikes fill'd with earth, thereby to curb the diſaffection of the inhabitants, and to prevent their attempting to ſecure any enemy for the future. This done, he march'd up in a triumphant manner to *London*, driving four or five thouſand priſoners like ſheep before him. Beyond *Aylesbury*, he was met by four commiſſioners from the parliament, whom they ſent to pay him all the marks of honour and eſteem. When he came to *Acton*, he was ſolemnly met by the ſpeaker, and the reſt of the members and council of ſtate; and ſoon after by the lord-mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs, and many perſons of quality, with the militia and multitudes of people; who welcom'd him with loud ſhouts and acclamations, and ſeveral vollies of great and ſmall ſhot. *Whitelock* ſays, he carry'd himſelf with great affability, and ſeeming humility; and in all his diſcourſes about the buſineſs of *Worceſter*, would ſeldom mention any thing of himſelf, but of the gallantry of the officers and ſoldiers, and gave all the glory of the action unto God. After ſome ſmall repoſe, on the 16th of *September*, he took his place in parliament, where the ſpeaker made a ſpeech to him, congratulating his return after ſo many worthy atchievements,

He returns in triumph to *London*.

1651. chievements, and giving him the thanks of the houſe for his great and faithful ſervices to the *commonwealth*. On the ſame day, he with his chief officers, was feaſted in the city, with all poſſible ſtate and pomp: And ſoon after two acts were drawn up, that were much to his honour; one for a ſolemn thankſgiving-day, and the other for a yearly obſervation of the third day of *September*, in all the three kingdoms, with a narrative of the grounds thereof. The parliament likewiſe ſettled four thouſand pounds a year upon him, out of the eſtates of the duke of *Buckingham*, and the marquis of *Worceſter*, beſides two thouſand five hundred pounds per *annum*, formerly granted.

The iſles of *Man*, *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, and *Scilly* reduc'd.

Soon after the battle of *Worceſter*, the iſle of *Man*, bravely defended by the heroick counteſs of *Derby*, and the iſle of *Jerſey*, that had been long maintain'd by Sir *George Carteret*, were both reduc'd to the parliament's obedience. They had long ſince been maſters of *Guernſey*, except the chief fort, call'd *Cornet-caſtle*, which had been a great while defended by *Roger Burges* the governour, but was about the latter end of *October* ſurrender'd by him upon very good articles. And the *Scilly* iſles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were ſome time before reduc'd by a part of the parliament's fleet.

Monk finiſhes the reduction of *Scotland*.

Major-general *Monk*, whom the lord-general had left in *Scotland*, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good ſucceſs. Before the fight at *Worceſter*, he took *Sterling*, the chief ſtrength of the *Scots*; as alſo *Dundee*, with as terrible an execution as *Cromwell* had before us'd at *Tredagh*; and ſurpriz'd a convention of the *Scotch* nobility, among whom was old general *Leſley*, and ſent them priſoners to *London*. The example that was made of *Dundee*, occaſion'd ſuch a terror, that *St. Andrew's*, *Aberdeen*, *Dunbarton*, and *Dunnoter* caſtles, with other towns,

towns, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds, either voluntarily declar'd for the conquerors, or ſurrender'd upon ſummons. Notwithſtanding this, the *Scots* made one attempt more under *Middleton*, *Huntley*, *Glencarne*, and others in the *Highlands*: But they were ſoon ſuppreſs'd and diſpers'd by colonel *Morgan*: So that the *Engliſh* extended their conqueſts thro' all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which now ſubmitted to them. 1651.

The ſtate of that kingdom afterwards.

AND here I ſhall diſmiſs the affairs of *Scotland*, for the preſent, with the remarks that biſhop *Burnet* makes on the ſtate of that kingdom, after this abſolute reduction of it under the power of the *Engliſh*. "After this, ſays he, the country was "kept in great order: Some caſtles in the "Highlands had garriſons put into them, that "were ſo careful in their diſcipline, and ſo exact "to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were "kept in better order, than during the uſurpation. "There was a conſiderable force of about ſeven or "eight thouſand men kept in *Scotland*: Theſe were "paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſciplin'd. The pay "of the army brought ſo much money into the "kingdom, that it continued all that while in a "very flouriſhing ſtate. *Cromwell* built three ci-"tadels, at *Leith*, *Air*, and *Inverneſs*, beſides ma-"ny little forts. There was good juſtice done, and "vice was ſuppreſs'd and puniſh'd; ſo that we al-"ways reckon thoſe eight years of uſurpation, a "time of great peace and proſperity. There was "alſo a ſort of union of the three kingdoms in "one parliament, where *Scotland* had its repreſen-"tatives. The marquis of *Argyle* went up one of "our commiſſioners."

General *Cromwell* holds a conference to conſider of a ſettlement.

SOON after the victory at *Worceſter*, general *Cromwell* deſir'd a meeting with ſeveral members of parliament, and ſome of the principal officers of the army, at the ſpeaker's houſe; where, as *Whitelock*, who was one of the number, acquaints

1651. us, he propos'd to them, " That now the old king " being dead, and his ſon defeated, he held it ne- " ceſſary to come to a ſettlement of the nation; " in order to which he had requeſted this meet- " ing, that they together might conſider and ad- " viſe, what was fit to be done, and to be pre- " ſented to the parliament."

WHAT paſs'd hereupon in this conference, I ſhall ſet down as I find it in *Whitelock*. *Lenthall* the ſpeaker began thus: " My lord, this com- " pany were very ready to attend your excellency; " and the buſineſs you are pleas'd to propound to " us, is very neceſſary to be conſider'd. God hath " given marvellous ſucceſs to our forces under " your command, and if we do not improve theſe " mercies to ſome ſettlement, ſuch as may be to " God's honour, and the good of this common- " wealth, we ſhall be very much blame-worthy."

HARRISON. " I think that which my lord- " general hath propounded, is to adviſe as to a " ſettlement both of our civil and ſpiritual liber- " ties, and ſo that the mercies which the Lord " hath given in to us, may not be caſt away; " how this may be done is the great queſtion."

WHITELOCK. " It is a great queſtion indeed, " and not ſuddenly to be reſolv'd; yet it were pity " that a meeting of ſo many able, worthy perſons " as I ſee here ſhould be fruitleſs. I ſhould hum- " bly offer in the firſt place, whether it be not re- " quiſite to be underſtood, in what way this ſet- " tlement is deſir'd, whether of an abſolute repub- " lick, or with any mixture of monarchy."

GENERAL *Cromwell*. " My lord commiſſioner " *Whitelock* hath put us upon the right point; and " indeed it is my meaning, that we ſhould con- " ſider, whether a Republick, or a mix'd monar- " chical government will be beſt to be ſettled; " and if any thing monarchical, then in whom " that power ſhall be placed."

SIR

SIR *Tho. Widdrington.* "I think a mix'd mo- 1651.
"narchical government will be moſt ſuitable to
"the laws and people of this nation; and if any
"thing monarchical, I ſuppoſe we ſhall hold it
"moſt juſt to place that power in one of the ſons
"of the late king."

FLEETWOOD. "I think that the queſtion,
"Whether an abſolute republick, or a mix'd
"monarchy, be beſt to be ſettled in this nation,
"will not be very eaſy to be determin'd."

LORD-CHIEF-JUSTICE *St. John.* "It will be
"found that the government of this nation, with-
"out ſomething of monarchical power, will be
"very difficult to be ſettled, as not to ſhake the
"foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the
"people."

LENTHALL. "It will breed a ſtrange confu-
"ſion to ſettle a government of this nation, with-
"out ſomething of monarchy."

DESBOROUGH. "I beſeech you, my lord, Why
"may not this, as well as other nations, be go-
"vern'd in the way of a republick?"

WHITELOCK. "The laws of *England* are ſo
"interwoven with the power and practice of mo-
"narchy, that to ſettle a government without
"ſomething of monarchy in it, would make ſo
"great an alteration in the proceedings of our
"law, that you have ſcarce time to rectify, nor
"can we well foreſee the inconveniencies which
"will ariſe thereby."

WHALLEY. "I do not well underſtand mat-
"ters of law; but it ſeems to me the beſt way,
"not to have any thing of monarchical power in
"the ſettlement of our government: And if we
"ſhould reſolve upon any, whom have we to
"pitch upon? The king's eldeſt ſon hath been in
"arms againſt us, and his ſecond ſon likewiſe is
"our enemy."

1651. SIR *Thomas Widdrington.* "But the late king's "third ſon, the duke of *Glouceſter*, is ſtill among "us, and too young to have been in arms againſt "us, or infected with the principles of our ene- "mies."

WHITELOCK. "There may be a day given for "the king's eldeſt ſon, or for the duke of *York*, "his brother, to come in to the parliament; and "upon ſuch terms as ſhall be thought fit, and "agreeable both to our civil and ſpiritual liber- "ties, a ſettlement may be made with them."

GENERAL *Cromwell.* "That will be a buſineſs "of more than ordinary difficulty; but really, I "think, if it may be done with ſafety, and pre- "ſervation of our rights, both as *Engliſhmen*, and "as chriſtians, that a ſettlement with ſomething of "monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

MUCH more diſcourſe there was by ſeveral gentlemen then preſent. The ſoldiers were generally for a pure republick, the lawyers for a mix'd monarchy, and many for the duke of *Glouceſter* to be made king; but general *Cromwell* ſtill put off that debate to ſome other point; and many think, that having now begun to entertain thoughts of ſetting up himſelf, his deſign in this conference, was only to diſcover the inclinations of theſe perſons, that he might make a proper uſe thereof in proſecuting the ends of his own ambition, which was much heighten'd by the finiſhing ſtroke that was given to his ſucceſſes, in the late glorious victory at *Worceſter*.

1652. His commiſſion of lieutenant of *Ireland* expiring, he is made general of the forces there.

THE commiſſion of general *Cromwell* to be lord-lieutenant of *Ireland* being expir'd, the parliament did not think fit to renew that title and office, looking upon them to be more ſuitable to monarchy, than to a free commonwealth; but they paſs'd a vote, "That the act of parliament conſtituting *Oli-* "*ver Cromwell*, Eſq; captain-general and comman- "der in chief of the armies and forces rais'd by their

" their authority within *England*, ſhould extend to 1652.
" the forces in *Ireland*, as if *Ireland* had been par-
" ticularly named: And that the lord-general be
" requir'd to appoint ſuch a perſon as he ſhall think
" fit, to command the forces in *Ireland*, and to
" commiſſion him accordingly." And ſo lieute-
nant-general *Fleetwood* had the command in chief of the forces in *Ireland* given him, to hold under the lord-general *Cromwell*; and under his conduct, that kingdom was in a little time brought into perfect ſubjection.

A rupture between *England* and *Holland*.

WHILST the commonwealth of *England* was thus every where victorious at home, a rupture happened between them and the elder republick the ſtates of *Holland*; which occaſion'd ſuch terrible ſea-fights, that no preceding age ſince the creation had ever produced the like. Some time in the laſt year, the parliament ſent over the chief juſtice St. *John* and Mr. *Strickland*, to treat of a coalition with the *Dutch*; but they apprehending that this conjunction might rob them of their trade, and be little leſs than making them a province to *England*, not only refuſed to conſent to it, but rudely treated *St. John*; which was ſo much reſented by his haughty ſpirit, that he made the report of this embaſſy little to the advantage of the *Dutch*. Upon this the parliament paſs'd the *act of navigation*, which " prohibited foreign ſhips from bringing " any merchandizes into *England*, except ſuch as " ſhould be of the growth and manufacture of that " country, to which the ſaid ſhips belong'd." By virtue of which law the *Engliſh* took occaſion to ſearch the *Dutch* veſſels, and often to make prize of them. The ſtates hereupon ſent over four ambaſſadors for the reſtoring and preſerving a good underſtanding between the two republicks; but the parliament demanded the arrears for the *Dutch* fiſhing upon the coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, the giving up to juſtice thoſe of the *Dutch* who ſurviv'd, that

1652. that were aſſiſting in the maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*; and a free trade up the *Scheld*. The *Dutch* ſeeing how little they were to expect from the *Engliſh* by a treaty, began to prepare for a war; nor were the others behind-hand with them.

THE firſt act of hoſtility was in *December* laſt year, when an *Engliſh* man of war meeting with ſome *Dutch* fiſhermen on the *Britiſh* coaſt, demanded the *tenth herring*, in acknowledgment of the ſovereignty of the ſeas, which the parliament was determined to maintain in another manner than had hitherto been done. The *Dutch* not complying, they fell from words to blows; and the *Dutchman* ſhooting firſt at the *Engliſh*, the *Engliſh* man of war ſunk one of the *Dutch* ſhips, which periſhed with all her crew.

Several ſea-fights between them.

THIS was but a ſkirmiſh; but the firſt great ſea-fight between theſe potent republicks, was in *May* this year; when admiral *Van Trump*, according to the inſtructions he had received, refuſing to ſtrike ſail to the *Engliſh*, *Blake* the *Engliſh* admiral gave orders to fire at *Trump*'s flag; which being done thrice, *Trump*, inſtead of ſtriking it, poured a broad-ſide upon *Blake*. Hereupon both fleets engag'd from four in the afternoon till night; in which fight, the *Dutch* had one man of war taken, and another ſunk, one hundred and fifty men kill'd, and their whole fleet much damag'd; whereas the *Engliſh* had not one ſhip loſt or diſabled, and but few of their men ſlain. The ſecond ſea-fight was on the 20th of *Auguſt*; when Sir *Georgh Ayſcough*, who was left by *Blake* to command in the *Downs*, with thirty-eight men of war, ſet upon the *Dutch* fleet of fifty, and fifteen merchant men. This fight having continued three days, the *Dutch* loſt two ſhips, one ſunk, and the other burnt, but the *Engliſh* none. On the 28th of *October*, admiral *Blake*, with vice-admiral *Penn*, and rear admiral *Bourn*, again engag'd the *Dutch* fleet near the *North-Foreland*,

land, boarded and took their rear-admiral, ſunk two more of them, and one was blown up. The reſt of the *Dutch* fleet being very much ſhatter'd and forc'd to fly, was purſued twelve leagues by the *Engliſh*, who loſt not one ſhip in this fight, tho' many of them were damag'd in their rigging. Another furious fight happen'd on the 29th of *November*, which continued from ten in the morning till ſix at night; when the *Dutch* fleet double in number to the *Engliſh*, got the better of them, taking the *Garland* frigat, burning the *Bonadventure*, and ſinking three more. One of the *Dutch* flag-ſhips was blown up, and all the men loſt but two; and *Van Trump*'s and *De Ruyter*'s ſhips were much damag'd. 1652.

A remarkable conference between general *Cromwell* and *Whitelock*.

BUT to return home: About this time, the lord-general *Cromwell* meeting with commiſſioner *Whitelock*, ſaluted him with more than ordinary courteſy, and deſired to have ſome private diſcourſe with him. *Whitelock* waited on him accordingly, and after ſome previous diſcourſe, the lord-general proceeded thus: "Your lordſhip hath obſerved moſt "truly the inclinations of the officers of the army "to particular factions, and to murmurings, that "they are not rewarded according to their deſerts; "that others who have ventured leaſt, have gained moſt, and they have neither profit nor preferment, nor place in government, which others "hold, who have undergone no hardſhips nor hazards for the commonwealth; and herein they "have too much of truth; yet their inſolence is "very great, and their influence upon the private "ſoldiers works them to the like diſcontents and "murmurings. Then as for the members of parliament, the army begins to have a ſtrange diſtaſte againſt them, and I wiſh there were not "too much cauſe of it; and really their pride, "and ambition, and ſelf-ſeeking, ingroſſing all "places of honour and profit to themſelves and

"their

1651. " their friends, and their daily breaking forth into
" new and violent parties and factions; their de-
" lays of buſineſs, and deſign to perpetuate them-
" ſelves and to continue their power in their own
" hands; their meddling in private matters be-
" tween party and party, contrary to the inſtitu-
" tion of parliaments, and their injuſtice and par-
" tiality in thoſe matters, and the ſcandalous lives
" of ſome of the chief of them; theſe things, my
" lord, do give too much ground for people to o-
" pen their mouths againſt them, and to diſlike
" them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds
" of juſtice, and law or reaſon, they themſelves
" being the ſupreme power of the nation, liable to
" no account to any, nor to be controuled or re-
" gulated by any other power, there being none
" ſuperior, or co-ordinate with them. So that un-
" leſs there be ſome authority and power ſo full
" and ſo high, as to reſtrain and keep things in
" better order, and that may be a check to theſe
" exorbitances, it will be impoſſible in human rea-
" ſon to prevent our ruin."

WHITELOCK anſwered: " I confeſs the dan-
" ger we are in by theſe extravagancies and inor-
" dinate powers, is more than I doubt is generally
" apprehended; yet as to that part of it which con-
" cerns the ſoldiery, your excellency's power and
" commiſſion is ſufficient already to reſtrain and
" keep them in their due obedience: And, bleſſed
" be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt
" not but by your wiſdom you will be able ſtill to
" do it. As to the members of parliament, I con-
" feſs the greateſt difficulty lies there, your com-
" miſſion being from them, and they being acknow-
" ledged the ſupreme power of the nation, ſubject
" to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from
" them. Yet, I am ſure, your excellency will not
" look upon them as generally deprav'd; too
" many of them are much to blame in thoſe things

" you

" you have mentioned, and many unfit things have 1652.
" paſs'd among them; but I hope well of the ma-
" jor part of them, when great matters come to a
" deciſion."

THE lord-general reply'd, " There is little hopes
" of a good ſettlement to be made by them, really
" there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they
" will deſtroy again what the Lord hath done gra-
" ciouſly for them and us: We all forget God,
" and God will forget us, and give us up to con-
" fuſion, and theſe men will help it on, if they be
" ſuffered to proceed in their ways: Some courſe
" muſt be thought on to curb and reſtrain them,
" or we ſhall be ruined by them." Upon this *Whitelock* ſaid, " We ourſelves have acknowledged
" them the ſupreme power, and taken our com-
" miſſions and authority in the higheſt concern-
" ments from them; and how to reſtrain and curb
" them after this, it will be hard to find out a way
" for it."

THE general then put this ſhort queſtion to *Whitelock, What if a man ſhould take upon him to be king?* Whitelock ſaid, *He thought that remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe:* And the general aſking him, *Why he thought ſo*, he proceeded, " As to your
" own perſon, the title of king would be of no ad-
" vantage, becauſe you have the full kingly power
" in you already, concerning the *militia*, as you
" are general: As to the nomination of civil offi-
" cers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom
" refus'd; and altho' you have no negative vote
" in the paſſing of laws, yet what you diſlike will
" not eaſily be carried; and the taxes are already
" ſettled, and in your power to diſpoſe the money
" raiſed. And as to foreign affairs, tho' the cere-
" monial application be made to the parliament,
" yet the expectation of good or bad ſucceſs in it,
" is from your excellency; and particular ſollici-
" tations of foreign miniſters are made to you
" only.

1652. " only. So that I apprehend indeed leſs envy and
" danger, and pomp, but not leſs power and real
" opportunities of doing good in your being ge-
" neral, than would be if you had aſſumed the title
" of king."

THE lord-general proceeded to argue, *That whoever was actually king by election, the acts done by him were as lawful and juſtifiable, as if done by a king, who had the crown by inheritance; and that by an act of parliament in king* Henry *the ſeventh's reign, it was ſafer for the people to act under a king, let his title be what it will, than under any other power.* *Whitelock* agreed to the legality, but much doubted the expediency of it; and being aſked, *What danger he apprehended in taking this title*, he anſwer'd, " The danger I think would be this: One of the
" main points of controverſy betwixt us and our
" adverſaries, is, *Whether the government of this*
" *nation ſhall be eſtabliſhed in monarchy, or in a free*
" *ſtate or commonwealth?* And moſt of our friends
" have engaged with us, upon the hopes of having
" the government ſettled in a free ſtate, and to effect
" that, have undergone all their hazards and dif-
" ficulties; they being perſuaded (tho' I think
" much miſtaken) that under the government of a
" commonwealth, they ſhall enjoy more liberty
" and right, both as to their ſpiritual and civil
" concernments, than they ſhall under monarchy,
" the preſſures and diſlike whereof are ſo freſh in
" their memories and ſufferings. Now if your ex-
" cellency ſhall take upon you the title of king,
" this ſtate of your cauſe will be thereby wholly de-
" termined, and monarchy eſtabliſh'd in your per-
" ſon; and the queſtion will be no more, whether
" our government ſhall be by a monarch or by a
" free ſtate, but, whether *Cromwell* or *Stuart* ſhall
" be our king and monarch. And that queſtion,
" wherein before ſo great parties of the nation were
" engag'd, and which was univerſal, will by this

" means

" means become in effect a private controverſy 1652.
" only; before it was national, what kind of go-
" vernment we ſhould have; now it will become
" particular, who ſhall be our governor, whether
" of the family of the *Stuarts*, or of the family of
" the *Cromwells*. Thus the ſtate of our contro-
" verſy being totally changed, all thoſe who were
" for a commonwealth (and they are a very great
" and conſiderable party) having their hopes there-
" in fruſtrated, will deſert you, your hands will
" be weakened, your intereſt ſtreightened, and
" your cauſe in apparent danger to be ruin'd."

THE general here acknowledg'd that *Whitelock* ſpoke reaſon, and aſk'd him, *What other thing he could propound, that might obviate the preſent dangers and difficulties, wherein they were all involv'd. Whitelock* confeſs'd, it would be the greateſt difficulty to find out ſuch an expedient, but ſaid he had had ſome things in his private thoughts upon this matter, which he fear'd were not fit, or ſafe for him to communicate: But upon the general's preſſing him to diſcloſe them, and promiſing there ſhould no prejudice come to him by any private diſcourſe betwixt them, and aſſuring him, he ſhould never betray his friend, and that he ſhould take kindly whatever he ſhould offer; *Whitelock* began thus:
" Give me leave then firſt to conſider your excel-
" lency's condition. You are invironed with ſe-
" cret enemies: Upon your ſubduing of the pub-
" lick enemy, the officers of your army account
" themſelves all victors, and to have had an equal
" ſhare in the conqueſt with you. The ſucceſs
" which God hath given us, hath not a little ela-
" ted their minds, and many of them are buſy,
" and of turbulent ſpirits, and are not without
" their deſigns how they may diſmount your ex-
" cellency, and ſome of themſelves get up into the
" ſaddle; how they may bring you down, and ſet
" up themſelves. They want not counſel and en-

" couragement

1652. " couragement herein, it may be, from ſome mem-
" bers of the parliament, who may be jealous
" of your power and greatneſs, leſt you ſhould
" grow too high for them, and in time over-maſter
" them, and they will plot to bring you down firſt,
" or to clip your wings."

THE general upon this thanked *Whitelock* for ſo fully conſidering his condition: *It is*, ſaid he, *a teſtimony of your love to me and care of me, and you have rightly conſidered it; and I may ſay without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends, and thoſe that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Beſides this, the cauſe itſelf may poſſibly receive ſome diſadvantage, by the ſtrugglings and contentions among ourſelves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of thoſe miſchiefs that hang over our heads?*

WHITELOCK then proceeded: " Pardon
" me, Sir, in the next place a little to conſider the
" condition of the king of *Scots*. This prince be-
" ing now by your valour, and the ſucceſs which
" God hath given to the parliament, and to the
" army under your command, reduc'd to a very
" low condition, both he, and all about him, can-
" not but be very inclinable to hearken to any
" terms, whereby their loſt hopes may be reviv'd
" of his being reſtor'd to the crown, and they to
" their fortunes and native country. By a private
" treaty with him you may ſecure yourſelf, and
" your friends, and their fortunes; you may make
" yourſelf and your poſterity as great and perma-
" nent, to all human probability, as ever any ſub-
" ject was, and provide for your friends: You may
" put ſuch limits to monarchical power, as will
" ſecure our ſpiritual and civil liberties, and you
" may ſecure the cauſe in which we are all engaged;
" and this may be effectually done, by having the
" power of the *militia* continued in yourſelf, and
" whom you ſhall agree upon after you. I pro-
" pound

" pound therefore for your excellency to ſend to 1652.
" the king of *Scots*, and to have a private treaty
" with him for this purpoſe."

THE general hereupon told him, he thought he had much reaſon for what he propounded: *But*, ſaid he, *it is a matter of ſo high importance and difficulty, that it deſerves more time of conſideration and debate, than is at preſent allow'd us: We ſhall therefore take a farther time to diſcourſe of it.* And with that he brake off, and went away with ſome diſpleaſure in his countenance. His carriage alſo towards *Whitelock* was from that time alter'd, and his adviſing with him not ſo frequent and intimate as formerly; and not long after, he found an occaſion, by an honourable employment, to ſend him out of the way, that he might be no hindrance to him in the deſigns he was then carrying on. For 'tis pretty manifeſt, that he had it now in his thoughts to ſet up himſelf, and bring the crown upon his own head: To which purpoſe *Harry Nevill* who was then one of the council of ſtate, us'd to tell it as a ſtory of his own knowledge,

Harry Nevill's ſtory concerning him.

" That *Cromwell* upon this great occaſion ſent for
" ſome of the chief city divines, as if he made it
" a matter of conſcience to be determin'd by their
" advice. Among theſe was the leading Mr. *Ca-*
" *lamy*, who very boldly oppoſed the project of
" *Cromwell*'s ſingle government, and offer'd to
" prove it both *unlawful* and *impracticable*. *Crom-*
" *well* anſwer'd readily upon the firſt head of *un-*
" *lawful*, and appeal'd to the ſafety of the nation
" being the ſupreme law: *But*, ſays he, *pray Mr.*
" Calamy, *why impracticable? Calamy* reply'd,
" *Oh, 'tis againſt the voice of the nation, there will*
" *be nine in ten againſt you. Very well*, ſays
" Cromwell, *but what if I ſhould diſarm the nine,*
" *and put the ſword in the tenth man's hand, would*
" *not that do the buſineſs?*"

1652. GENERAL *Cromwell* and his officers, in order to bring about their deſigns, were now daily complaining of the grievances from the *long parliament*, and ſeem'd very zealous upon the common pretences of right and juſtice, and publick liberty, to put a period to their ſeſſion: "Which if they "would not ſhortly do themſelves, the army and "people muſt do it for them." They particularly complain'd, "That the parliament order'd all "things at will, and diſtributed all valuable em-"ployments among themſelves; that they were ſo "many kings, and for one ſovereign, the nation "had many who car'd leſs for the laws than he "they had deſtroyed; that they embru'd the king-"dom in blood, upon pretence of puniſhing the "adverſaries of the government, but in reality to "gratify their own private revenge; that they "had ſtudy'd to perpetuate themſelves in an em-"ployment which ought to be temporary, ſo that "all the good ſubjects of the commonwealth might "ſhare in it; that the parliament ought to be diſ-"ſolved, and a new repreſentative choſen by the "univerſal conſent of the people, according to the "ſcheme laid when monarchy was aboliſh'd to ſet "up a commonwealth." And that no obſtacle might be in the way of the deſigned future government, means were found to ſet the young duke of *Glouceſter* at liberty, and ſend him out of the nation.

He and his officers complain of the long parliament.

'TWAS about this time that *Cromwell* ſent a letter to the *Cardinal de Retz* in *France*; which the ſaid Cardinal thus relates in his *Memoirs*: "'Tis "remarkable that the ſame night, as I was going "home (*viz.* after he had been to carry ſome mo-"ney he had borrow'd for king *Charles*, who was "now at *Paris*) I met one *Tinley*, an *Engliſhman*, "whom I had formerly known at *Rome*, who told "me that *Vere*, a great parliamentarian and a fa-"vourite of *Cromwell*, was arriv'd at *Paris*, and "had orders to ſee me. I was a little perplex'd; "however,

He writes to the *Cardinal de Retz*.

" however, I thought it would be improper to 1652.
" refuſe him an interview. He gave me a letter
" from *Cromwell* in the nature of credentials, im-
" porting, that the ſentiments I had diſcover'd in
" the defence of publick liberty, added to my re-
" putation, had induc'd him to enter into the
" ſtricteſt friendſhip with me. It was a moſt civil
" complaiſant letter, and I anſwer'd it with a great
" deal of reſpect; but in ſuch a manner as became
" a true *Catholick* and an honeſt *Frenchman*."

Another ſea-fight between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

ON the 18th of *February*, there happen'd another dreadful fight, between the *Engliſh* fleet commanded by *Blake*, *Dean*, and *Monk*, and the *Dutch* under *Van Trump*. This fight laſted three days with wonderful bravery, and terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, tho' the *Engliſh* prevail'd; for the *Dutch* loſt eleven men of war, and thirty merchant-ſhips; above two thouſand of their men being kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken priſoners: But the *Engliſh* loſt but one ſhip, the *Southampton*, which was ſunk; tho' their ſlain were not many leſs than thoſe of the enemy.

The *Dutch* deſire peace.

THIS great loſs ſo ſenſibly affected the ſtates of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friezeland*, that they diſpatch'd letters to the *Engliſh* parliament, to endeavour after ſome means for putting an end to this cruel war. This negociation had no effect, tho' it was particularly promoted by general *Cromwell* himſelf, who was very deſirous to have a peace concluded. The ſtates had offer'd to acknowledge the *Engliſh* ſovereignty of the *Britiſh* ſeas, and to pay three hundred thouſand pounds to the *Engliſh* commonwealth; but finding this was not likely to ſucceed, they apply'd themſelves (as we are told) more directly to general *Cromwell*, promiſing him vaſt ſums, if he would venture to depoſe and diſſolve the parliament.

HOWEVER this was, the general and his officers 1653.
ſtill continued their complaints againſt the parliament; and petitions, addreſſes, and remonſtrances

1653. were daily preſented from the army, "For the "payment of their arrears, the putting an end to "this parliament, and ſummoning a more equal "repreſentative; which they told them would be "the moſt popular action they could perform." Some of the officers were indeed very much concern'd at theſe proceedings, and openly proteſted againſt them. Major *Streater* was ſo bold as to declare, "That the general intended to ſet up "himſelf, and that it was a betraying of their moſt "glorious cauſe, for which ſo much blood had "been ſpilt." But *Harriſon*, who was one of the leaders of that party, now known by the name of *Fifth-monarchy men*, told him, *He was aſſur'd, the general did not ſeek himſelf in it, but did it to make way for the rule of* Jeſus, *that he might have the ſcepter.* To whom the major thus reply'd, *That unleſs* Jeſus *came very ſuddenly, he would come too late.*

The general and his officers continue their complaint againſt the parliament.

The proceedings of the houſe on this occaſion.

THE parliament being very ſenſible of theſe proceedings, a great debate aroſe thereupon in the houſe; where ſeveral of the members, out of juſtice, reaſon, or a foreſeen neceſſity, appear'd to be for a diſſolution, and a new repreſentative to be choſen; but in the end it was declar'd, that the diſſolution of the parliament was too high a matter for any private perſons to meddle with; and to give a timely check to any farther preſumption of that nature, a committee was appointed to prepare an act of parliament with all poſſible expedition, "For filling up of their houſe, and for ſet-"tling their qualifications; and to declare it high-"treaſon for any man to propoſe or contrive the "changing of the preſent government."

General *Cromwell* holds a conſultation thereupon.

GENERAL *Cromwell* perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their power and authority, which they had ſo long enjoy'd, on the 19th of *April*, held a conſultation with the chief of his friends in the parliament and army, at his lodgings in *Whitehall*, to conſider of ſome expedient for the preſent

preſent carrying on of the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to the parliament. Some few, particularly Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and commiſſioner *Whitelock*, declar'd what a dangerous thing it was to diſſolve the parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other form of government: But the general, and moſt of his officers, with ſeveral members of the houſe, deliver'd their opinion, *That it was neceſſary to take ſome new meaſures, and that it was not fit the preſent aſſembly of parliament ſhould be permitted to prolong their own power.* The conference laſted till late at night, when, without coming to any concluſion, the meeting was adjourn'd to the next morning. Moſt of them being then again met, the point in debate was, "Whether forty perſons, or about that number, "of parliament-men and officers of the army, "ſhould be nominated by the parliament, and im-"power'd for managing the affairs of the common-"wealth, till a new parliament ſhould meet, and "ſo the preſent parliament be forthwith diſſolv'd." The lord-general being inform'd, during this debate, that the parliament was ſitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themſelves, which would be the moſt honourable diſſolution for them; he thereupon broke off the meeting, and the members of parliament that were with him, left him at his lodgings, and went to the houſe; where, contrary to their expectation, inſtead of coming to any reſolutions of immediately diſſolving themſelves, they found them in debate of an act, by which the preſent parliament was to be continued above a year and a half longer, and then to be diſſolv'd. 1653.

COLONEL *Ingoldsby* came back to the general, and inform'd him what the houſe was upon: At which the general, who expected they ſhould have meddled with no other buſineſs, but putting an immediate period to their own ſitting without any more

He by force diſſolves the parliament and the *commonwealth.*

1653. more delay, was ſo enrag'd, that he immediately commanded ſome of the officers to fetch a party of ſoldiers (to the number of three hundred) with which marching directly to *Weſtminſter*, he placed ſome of them at the door, ſome in the *Lobby*, and others on the ſtairs. Himſelf going into the houſe, firſt addreſs'd himſelf to his friend *St. John*, and told him, *That he then came to do that which griev'd him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears pray'd to God againſt: Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: But that there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation.* Then he ſat down and heard the debates for ſome time on the forementioned act; after which, calling to major-general *Harriſon*, who was on the other ſide of the houſe, to come to him, he told him, *That he judg'd the parliament ripe for a diſſolution, and this to be the time of doing it. Harriſon* anſwer'd, *Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it, before you engage in it. You ſay well*, reply'd the general; and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an hour; and then the queſtion for paſſing the ſaid act being put, he ſaid again to *Harriſon*, *This is the time, I muſt do it.* And ſo ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bad the ſpeaker leave the chair, and told the houſe, *That they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of them were whore-maſters;* (looking then towards *Harry Martin* and Sir *Peter Wentworth*;) *that others of them were drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, and ſcandalous to the profeſſion of the goſpel; and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit as a parliament any longer, and therefore he muſt deſire them to go away.* He charg'd them with *not having a heart to do any thing for the publick good, and eſpouſing the intereſt of Presbytery and the lawyers, who were the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion*; and accuſed them of *an intention to*

perpetuate

perpetuate themſelves in power. When ſome of the members began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the houſe, and ſaid, *Come, come, I will put an end to your prating:* Then walking up and down the houſe, he cry'd out, *You are no parliament, I ſay you are no parliament*; and ſtamping with his feet, he bad them *for ſhame be gone, and give place to honeſter men.* Upon this ſignal the ſoldiers enter'd the houſe, and he bad one of them, *Take away that bauble*, meaning the *mace*; and *Harriſon* taking the ſpeaker by the arm, he came down. Then (as *Ludlow* informs us) the general addreſſing himſelf again to the members, who were about a hundred, ſaid, *'Tis you that have forced me to this, for I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me, than put me upon the doing of this work.* And then ſeizing on all their papers, he order'd the ſoldiers to ſee the houſe clear'd of all members; and having caus'd the doors to be lock'd up, went away to *Whitehall.* "Thus, as "*Whitelock* obſerves, it pleaſed God, that this aſ- "ſembly, famous throughout the world for its un- "dertakings, actions and ſucceſſes, having ſubdu'd "all their enemies, were themſelves overthrown "and ruin'd by their ſervants; and thoſe whom "they had raiſed, now pull'd down their maſters: "An example never to be forgotten, and ſcarce "to be parallel'd in any ſtory! By which all per- "ſons may be inſtructed, how uncertain and ſub- "ject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt "to fall when we think them higheſt." 1653.

THE general being return'd to *Whitehall*, found the officers who were there aſſembled, in debate concerning this weighty affair, and told them, *He hod done it, and they needed not to trouble themſelves any farther about it.* Some of thoſe officers, who diſlik'd what the general had done, particularly colonel *Okey*, repair'd to him to deſire ſatisfaction in that proceeding, apprehending the way they

1653. were now in, tended to ruin and deſtruction. To theſe he made large pretenſions to honeſty and concern for the publick weal, profeſſing himſelf reſolv'd to do much more good, and with more expedition than could be expected from the parliament. This put moſt of them to ſilence, and made them willing to wait for a farther diſcovery of his deſign, before they proceeded ſo far as to break with him.

HAVING thus diſſolv'd the parliament, general *Cromwell* went the ſame day in the afternoon to the council of ſtate, attended by the major-generals *Lambert* and *Harriſon*; and as he enter'd, ſpoke thus to them, *Gentlemen, if you are met here as private perſons, you ſhall not be diſturbed; but if as a council of ſtate, this is no place for you: And ſince you cannot but know what was done at the houſe in the morning, ſo take notice that the parliament is diſſolv'd.* Serjeant *Bradſhaw* boldly anſwer'd; *Sir, we have heard what you did at the houſe in the morning, and before many hours all* England *will hear it: But, Sir, you are miſtaken, to think that the parliament is diſſolv'd; for no power under heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves: Therefore take you notice of that.* Some others alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe: But the council finding themſelves to be under the ſame force, they all quietly departed.

THE

THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART III.

Containing his actions in the Protectorate; *from the diſſolution of the Long* PARLIAMENT, *to his* Death.

CHAP. I.

From the diſſolution of the long parliament, to the meeting of Cromwell's *firſt parliament.*

THE formidable body at *Weſtminſter* being thus forcibly diſſolved, the lord-general and his party were very buſy in conſulting how to manage the governmtnt, which by this means was fallen into their hands. This ſingle action made *Cromwell* maſter of three kingdoms; for tho' he did not take upon himſelf the title of *Protector*, till ſeveral months after, yet his power was in effect the ſame, from the very moment that he ſucceeded in this bold undertaking: Soon after which, he ſent for major *Salloway* and Mr. *John Carew*, and complain'd to them of *the great weight of affairs that by this means was fallen*

1653. The general conſults how to carry on the government.

1653. *fallen upon him*; affirming, *that the thoughts of the conſequence thereof made him to tremble; and therefore deſir'd them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him, and to that end to go immediately to the chief juſtice* St. John, *and Mr.* Selden, *and ſome others, and endeavour to purſuade them to draw up ſome inſtrument of government, that might put the power out of his hands.* To this major *Salloway* anſwer'd, *The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation, is for you not to look upon yourſelf to be under it, but to reſt perſuaded, that the power of this nation is in the good people of* England, *as formerly it was.* This anſwer was thought to be not very agreeable to the general, who now appointed a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at *Whitehall*, in order to deliberate what was proper to be done in this exigency; and with their advice, he, in the firſt place, publiſh'd a declaration of the grounds and reaſons for their diſſolving the late parliament; which was to the following effect:

He and his council of officers publiſh a declaration.

" THAT after God was pleaſed marvellouſly to " appear for his people, in reducing of *Ireland* " and *Scotland* to ſo great a degree of peace, and " *England* to perfect quiet; whereby the parlia- " ment had opportunity to give the people the " harveſt of all their labour, blood, and treaſure, " and to ſettle a due liberty in reference to civil " and ſpiritual things; whereunto they were o- " blig'd by their duty, engagements, and thoſe " great and wonderful things God hath wrought " for them; they notwithſtanding made ſo little pro- " greſs therein, that it was matter of much grief " to the good people of the land; who thereupon " apply'd themſelves to the army, expecting re- " dreſs by their means; who (tho' unwilling to " meddle with the civil authority) agreed that " ſuch officers, as were members of parliament, " ſhould move them to proceed vigorouſly in re- " forming what was amiſs in the commonwealth,

" and

" and in ſettling it upon a foundation of juſtice 1653.
" and righteouſneſs; which being done, it was
" hop'd the parliament would have anſwer'd their
" expectations. But finding the contrary, they
" renew'd their deſires by an humble petition in
" *Auguſt*, 1652, which produc'd no conſiderable
" effect, nor was any ſuch progreſs made therein,
" as might imply their real intentions to accom-
" pliſh what was petition'd for; but rather an
" averſeneſs to the things themſelves, with much
" bitterneſs and oppoſition to the people of God,
" and his Spirit acting in them; inſomuch that the
" godly party in parliament were render'd of no
" farther uſe than to countenance the ends of a
" corrupt party, for effecting their deſigns of per-
" petuating themſelves in the ſupreme government.
" For obviating theſe evils, the officers of the ar-
" my obtain'd ſeveral meetings with ſome of the
" parliament, to conſider what remedy might be
" apply'd to prevent the ſame: But ſuch endea-
" vours proving ineffectual, it became evident,
" that this parliament, through the corruption of
" ſome, the jealouſy of others, and the non-attend-
" ance of many, would never anſwer thoſe ends,
" which God, his people, and the whole nation
" expected from them; but that this cauſe, which
" God had ſo greatly bleſs'd, muſt needs languiſh
" under their hands, and by degrees be loſt; and
" the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people
" be deliver'd into their enemies hands. All which
" being ſadly and ſeriouſly conſider'd by the honeſt
" people of the nation, as well as by the army, it
" ſeem'd a duty incumbent upon us, who had ſeen
" ſo much of the power and preſence of God, to
" conſider of ſome effectual means, whereby to eſta-
" bliſh righteouſneſs and peace in theſe nations.
" And after much debate, it was judg'd neceſſary,
" that the ſupreme government ſhould be by the
" parliament devolv'd upon known perſons fearing

" God,

1653. " God, and of approv'd integrity, for a time, as " the moſt hopeful way to countenance all God's " people, reform the law, and adminiſter juſtice " impartially; hoping thereby the people might " forget monarchy, and underſtand their true in- " tereſt in the election of ſucceſſive parliaments; " that ſo the government might be ſettled upon a " right baſis, without hazard to this glorious cauſe, " or neceſſitating to keep up armies for the de- " fence of the ſame. And being ſtill reſolv'd to " uſe all means poſſible to avoid extraordinary " courſes, we prevail'd with about twenty members " of parliament to give us a conference; with " whom we plainly debated the neceſſity and ju- " ſtice of our propoſals; the which found no ac- " ceptance, but inſtead thereof, it was offer'd, " That the way was, to continue ſtill this parlia- " ment, as being that from which we might pro- " bably expect all good things. This being vehe- " mently inſiſted on did much confirm us in our " apprehenſions, that not any love to a repreſen- " tative, but the making uſe thereof to recruit, and " ſo to perpetuate themſelves, was their aim in the " act they had then under conſideration. For pre- " venting the conſummating whereof, and all the " ſad and evil conſequences, which, upon the " grounds aforeſaid, muſt have enſu'd, and where- " by at one blow the intereſt of all honeſt men, " and of this glorious cauſe, had been endanger'd " to be laid in the duſt, and theſe nations em- " broil'd in new troubles, at a time when our ene- " mies abroad were watching all advantages a- " gainſt, and ſome of them actually engag'd in war " with us; we have been neceſſitated (tho' with " much reluctancy) to put an end to this parlia- " ment." Then they promis'd, to put the go- vernment into the hands of *perſons of approv'd fi- delity and honeſty*; and at laſt declar'd, " That all " magiſtrates and officers whatſoever ſhall proceed

" in

" in their reſpective places and offices, and obe- 1653.
" dience ſhall be paid to them as fully, as when
" the parliament was ſitting."

THIS declaration was ſubſcrib'd by the lord-general, and his council of officers, *Whitehall*, *April* 22d, 1653. Which council of officers and ſome others, were ſoon after form'd into a council of ſtate, which was compos'd of the thirty perſons following; *Cromwell*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Liſle*, *Harriſon*, *Deſborough*, *Pickering*, *Wolleſly*, *Aſhley-Cooper*, *Hope*, *Hewſon*, *Norton*, *Montague*, *Bennet*, *Stapely*, *Sydenham*, *Tomlinſon*, *Jones*, *Tichburn*, *Strickland*, *Carew*, *Howard*, *Broughton*, *Lawrence*, *Holiſter*, *Courtney*, *Major*, *St. Nicholas*, *Moyer*, and *Williams*.

The entertainment it met with.

THE diſſolution of the parliament was very grateful and acceptable to a great many people; and this declaration, being ſent out into all the dominions of the commonwealth, was anſwer'd by many congratulations and addreſſes from the fleet, and army, and people, promiſing to ſtand by the general and his council of officers, and acknowledging the juſtice of the late action. (And this, by the way, gave riſe to the practice of addreſſing, which beginning firſt under *Oliver* and his ſon *Richard*, has been ſo common in all the reigns ſince.) The ſaid declaration was on the 30th day of *April* ſeconded by this enſuing, which met with equal ſubmiſſion and obedience.

Another declaration.

" WHEREAS the parliament being diſſolv'd,
" *perſons of approv'd fidelity and honeſty* are (ac-
" cording to the late declaration of the 22d of
" *April* laſt) to be called from the ſeveral parts
" of this commonwealth to the ſupreme autho-
" rity; and although effectual proceedings are,
" and have been had, for perfecting thoſe reſolu-
" tions; yet ſome convenient time being requir'd
" for the aſſembling of thoſe perſons, it hath
" been found neceſſary, for preventing the miſ-

" chiefs

1653. " chiefs and inconveniencies which may ariſe in " the mean while to the publick affairs, that a " *council of ſtate* be conſtituted, to take care of, " and intend the peace, ſafety, and preſent ma- " nagement of the affairs of this commonwealth; " which being ſettled accordingly, the ſame is " hereby declar'd and publiſhed, to the end all " perſons may take notice thereof, and in their " ſeveral places and ſtations, demean themſelves " peaceably, giving obedience to the laws of the " nation as heretofore; in the exerciſe and admi- " niſtration whereof, as endeavours ſhall be uſed " that no oppreſſion or wrong be done to the " people, ſo a ſtrict account will be required of " all ſuch as ſhall do any thing to endanger the " publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence " whatſoever." Subſcribed *O. Cromwell.*

THE lord-general *Cromwell* having now in effect the ſupreme power in his hands, the firſt remarkable paſſage, that befel him, was at ſea. The *Dutch* had form'd mighty expectations from the late revolutions in *England*, believing the *Engliſh* would by this means be brought to fall together by the ears, and ſo their work would be very eaſy with them. With theſe hopes, notwithſtanding their late pretences to peace, they with all imaginable diligence, ſet out a greater fleet to ſea, than they had done before; and *Van Trump* boaſted he would fire the *Engliſh* ſhips in their harbours, and the *Downs*, before the *Engliſh* fleet could get out. But the new government, well knowing what credit was to be given to the *Dutch* proteſtations, *of their ſincere love and affection to the* Engliſh *nation*, &c. were not behindhand with them, but did every thing that might advance the maritime preparations; ſo that in *May* they ſent out another gallant fleet conſiſting of a hundred ſhips of all ſorts, under the command of *Monk* and *Dean* as admirals, *Pen* as vice-admiral,

admiral, and *Lawſon* as rear-admiral. On the 1653.
ſecond of *June*, early in the morning, they engag'd the *Dutch* fleet under *Van Trump*, *De Ruyter*, *De Wit*, and the two *Evertſons*, conſiſting of a hundred and four men of war, twelve galliots, and nine fireſhips. This fight happen'd not far from the coaſt of *Flanders*, the beginning of which was ſo fatal, that at the firſt broad-ſide of the enemy, admiral *Dean* was ſhot off almoſt in the middle by a cannon ball. The fight continu'd till three in the afternoon, when the wind coming up contrary to the *Engliſh*, the *Dutch* fled, and were purſu'd by the lighteſt of the *Engliſh* frigates. The next morning, the two fleets found themſelves again near each other, but the wind was ſo ſlack that *Monk* could not come to engage the enemy till about noon; and then the battle began again, and continu'd very hot on both ſides, till ten at night. The *Engliſh* fleet charg'd the *Dutch* with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that they put them into very great diſorder; ſo that tho' *Van Trump* fired on them to rally them, he could not procure above twenty ſhips of his whole fleet to ſtand by him, the reſt making all the ſail they could away to the eaſtward: And the wind blowing a freſh gale from the weſtward, the *Engliſh* purſu'd them with ſuch ſucceſs, that they ſunk ſix of their beſt ſhips, blew up two others, and took eleven with thirteen hundred and fifty priſoners, among whom were ſix of their principal captains. Towards the end of this battle, admiral *Blake* came in with eighteen freſh ſhips; and had not the *Dutch* ſhelter'd themſelves between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where 'twas not ſafe for the *Engliſh* to expoſe their great ſhips, by reaſon of the ſands, moſt of their fleet had in all probability been taken or deſtroy'd. The loſs of the *Engliſh* was greateſt in their admiral *Dean:* Beſides him there was but one captain, and about a hundred and fifty com-

Victory over the *Dutch* at ſea.

mon

1653. mon ſeamen kill'd: More were wounded, but they loſt not one ſhip. Having put their priſoners on ſhoar, and left ſome of their ſhips to be refitted, they returned to the coaſt of *Holland*, where for ſome time they block'd up the *Dutch* in their own harbours, and ply'd to and again betwixt the *Texel* and the *Uly*, to hinder ſhips coming out from thence to join with that part of the *Dutch* fleet which was got into the *Wielings*, and to ſtop up their trade and fiſhing,

General *Cromwell* prepares for a new parliament.

AT home, general *Cromwell* and his council of officers were in the mean time very buſy in preparing for a new kind of parliament. Major-general *Lambert* mov'd, that a few perſons, not exceeding ten or twelve, might be intruſted with the ſupreme authority; Major-general *Harriſon* was for a greater number, and inclin'd moſt to that of 70, as being the number of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*. But after ſome debate, it was reſolved by the general and his council to ſummon ſelect perſons, to be nominated by themſelves, out of every county; who ſhould be a repreſentative of the whole nation: And the ſeveral perſons having been agreed upon, letters from the general were thus directed to each of them.

His form of ſummons to the perſons nominated for that purpoſe.

" FORASMUCH as upon the diſſolution of the " late parliament, it became neceſſary that the " peace, ſafety, and good government of this " commonwealth ſhould be provided for; and " in order thereunto, divers perſons fearing God, " and of approv'd fidelity and honeſty, are by " myſelf, with the advice of my council of offi- " cers, nominated, to whom the great charge and " truſt of ſo weighty affairs is to be committed; " and having good aſſurance of your love to, and " courage for God, and the intereſt of this cauſe, " and of the good people of this commonwealth: " I *Oliver Cromwell*, captain-general and com- " mander in chief of all the armies and forces

" raiſed

" raiſed and to be raiſed within this common- 1653.
" wealth, do hereby ſummon and require you,
" being one of the perſons nominated, perſonally
" to appear at the council-chamber at *Whitehall*
" within the city of *Weſtminſter*, upon the fourth
" day of *July*, next enſuing the date hereof, then
" and there to take upon you the ſaid truſt, unto
" which you are hereby call'd, and appointed to
" ſerve as a member of the county of——And
" hereof you are not to fail. Given under my
" hand this eighth day of *June*, 1653. *O. Crom-*
" *well.*"

Several acts of the general and council of ſtate.

BEFORE the meeting of this convention, ſeveral other acts of authority were perform'd by the general. On the 14th of *June*, he and the council of ſtate put forth a declaration, " To invite " all the good people in theſe nations to thank- " fulneſs, and holy rejoicing in the Lord, for " the late great victory at ſea againſt the *Dutch.*" And he appointed a day for the meeting of himſelf and his council of officers for that purpoſe. Many people were the more pleas'd with this, becauſe it was not a command impoſed on them, but only an invitation to keep a day of publick thankſgiving. On the 22d, that there might be no interruption to the adminiſtration of juſtice, the general with the council of ſtate nominated the judges for the ſummer circuit. And a few days after, they paſſed an order, forbidding all riotous aſſemblies in the great level of the fens, and the throwing down of fences and incloſures there.

CHAP. II.

From the meeting of his FIRST PARLIAMENT, *to his being declared* PROTECTOR *by the* Inſtrument of Government.

1653. *Cromwell's firſt parliament.*

THE ſeveral perſons ſummoned by general *Cromwell* to take upon them the ſupreme authority, appeared on the appointed day, *July* 4. about eleven weeks after the diſſolution of the late parliament, in the council-chamber at *Whitehall*, to the number of about an hundred and twenty. Being ſet round the table, the general, attended by many of his officers, ſtanding about the middle of the table, made a ſpeech to them, "Of "the fear of God, and the honour due to his "name; remembering them of the wonderful "mercies of God to this nation, and the con- "tinued ſeries of providence, by which he had "appeared in carrying on his cauſe, and bring- "ing affairs into that preſent glorious condition, "wherein they now were. Then he reminded "them of the noble actions of the army in the fa- "mous battle of *Worceſter*, and of the applica- "tions they had made to the parliament for a "good ſettlement of all the affairs of the com- "monwealth, the neglect whereof made it abſo- "lutely neceſſary to diſſolve it. Hence he ſhew'd "them the cauſe of their ſummons, and aſſur'd "them by many arguments, ſome of which were "taken from ſcripture, *That they had a clear call* "*to take upon them the ſupreme authority of the* "*commonwealth.* He ſaid, that he never look'd "to ſee ſuch a day, when *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhould be "ſo owned, as this day was; and that he had "not allow'd himſelf in the choice of one perſon, "in whom he had not this good hope, *That*

His ſpeech to them.

"*there*

" *there was faith in* Jeſus Chriſt, *and love unto all* 1653.
" *his ſaints and people.*" And concluded with a very earneſt deſire, " That great tenderneſs might " be uſed towards all conſcientious perſons, of " what judgment ſoever they appeared to be."

His ſpeech being ended, he deliver'd to them an inſtrument engroſs'd in parchment under his hand and ſeal, whereby, with the advice of his council of officers, he did devolve and intruſt the ſupreme authority and government of this commonwealth into the hands of the perſons then met; and declared, " That they, or any forty of " them, were to be held and acknowledg'd the " ſupreme authority of the nation, unto whom all " perſons within the ſame were to yield obedience " and ſubjection; that they ſhould not ſit longer " than the third of *November*, 1654, and three " months before their diſſolution, ſhould make " choice of other perſons to ſucceed them; who " were not to ſit longer than a year, and to pro- " vide for a like ſucceſſion in the government." He by an inſtrument conſtitutes them the ſupreme authority.

Then the general and his officers withdrew, and the perſons thus commiſſion'd adjourn'd themſelves to the next day, to meet in the parliament-houſe; where they kept a faſt, and publiſhed a declaration, *To ſtir up the godly of the nation to ſeek God for a bleſſing upon their proceedings.* They choſe Mr. *Rouſe*, an old gentleman of *Devonſhire*, and provoſt of *Eton* college, who had been a member of the long parliament, to be their ſpeaker; reſolved, that general *Cromwell* and his chief officers, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *Desborough*, and *Thomlinſon*, ſhould ſit in the houſe as members; and at once voted themſelves to be *the parliament of the commonwealth of* England, and that all addreſſes ſhould be made to them under that title. Then they appointed ſeveral committees, 1. *To conſider matters touching the law.* 2. *Touching priſoners and priſons.* 3. *For inſpection into treaſuries, and* Their proceedings.

1653. *easing publick charges.* 4. *For* Ireland. 5. *For* Scotland. 6. *For the army.* 7. *For petitions.* 8. *To consider what shall be offer'd about publick debts, publick fraud and breaches of trust.* 9. *For regulating commissions of the peace, and for making provision for the poor.* 10. *For advance of trade.* 11. *For advancement of learning.* And they referred it to a committee to consider of the laws that hinder'd the progress of the gospel, that they might be repeal'd.

Acts pass'd by them.

The chief laws made by this assembly were these: One for punishing seditious sea-men: Another for marrying by justices of the peace, and registring marriages, births and burials: A third concerning the plantation of *Ireland*, settling the lands there upon the adventurers and soldiers: A fourth for payment of some publick debts.

Their character.

WHITELOCK says, It was much wonder'd by some, that these gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune and knowledge, would upon such a summons, and from such hands, take upon them the supreme authority of this nation. The lord *Clarendon* informs us, that there were amongst them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted: But he says, that much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name. *Ludlow* gives them this character: "Many of the members of this "assembly had manifested a good affection to the "publick cause; (*he means* a commonwealth:) "But some among them were brought in as spies "and trepanners; who, tho' they had always "been of the contrary party, made the highest "pretensions to honesty, and the service of the "nation. This assembly therefore being com-"pos'd for the most part of honest and well-"meaning persons, who having good intentions,

"were

" were leſs apt to ſuſpect the evil deſigns of 1653.
" others, thought themſelves in full poſſeſſion of
" the power and authority of the nation, *&c.*"
And others ſpeak thus of them: " This very
" parliament, which had indeed procured very
" beneficial orders in matters of leſſer moment, in
" the greater concernments had not ſo good for-
" tune. There was ſo much confuſion in their
" counſels, ſuch a contrariety in their opinions,
" ſuch a diſſonancy in their actings, and diſparity
" in their aims and projections, as that this ſenate
" was more like a monſter with many heads, than
" a well-ordered grand aſſembly or ſupreme coun-
" cil." One *Praiſe-God Barebones*, a *Leather-ſeller* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, was a very buſy man in this aſſembly; whence it had the name of *Barebone's parliament*. It was alſo called by ſome the *Little parliament*; and from an order that none ſhould be admitted into the ſervice of the houſe, but ſuch of whoſe *real godlineſs* they were firſt ſatisfy'd, it was call'd the *Godly parliament*.

John Lilburn tried and acquitted.

UNDER this change of government, lieutenant-colonel *John Lilburn*, whoſe turbulent ſpirit in the time of the late parliament had procur'd his baniſhment, now finding their power at an end, came over into *England*, and very confidently addreſs'd himſelf to general *Cromwell* for protection. But the general well knowing of what ſpirit *John* was, committed him to *Newgate*, and left him to the law: Whereby he underwent a ſtrict trial, in which he diſcover'd his parts and ſubtlety by the variety of his pleas, and his invincible temper by the boldneſs of his replies; and by the favour of the jury was at laſt acquitted. *Oliver* ſeem'd to be much offended with him, and very deſirous to have him puniſhed; yet privately paid him a penſion equivalent to a lieutenant-colonel's pay. This perſon was of ſo undaunted and ungovernable a temper, as can ſcarce be parallel'd in any nation.

1653. He was whipp'd and pillory'd in the time of the late king, and ſuffer'd three years impriſonment, till the times turn'd; when coming into play again, he became a grand leveller, and violent oppoſer of all that was uppermoſt. He obtain'd the name of *Free-born John*, and had ſuch an inveterate ſpirit of contradiction, that 'was commonly ſaid of him, *That if the world was emptied of all but himſelf*, John *would be againſt* Lilburn, *and* Lilburn *againſt* John. *Cromwell* kept him in priſon for ſome time; and he at laſt died a *quaker*.

The *Dutch* again ſue for peace.

THE *Dutch* were ſo humbled by the late deſcent, that they immediately took up a reſolution for peace, and ſent over to *England* a veſſel with a white flag, and a meſſenger to prepare the way for two ambaſſadors to come over for that purpoſe. General *Cromwell* was not averſe to a treaty, but would allow of no ceſſation till it was concluded. This being known in *Holland*, they could not bear to think of ſuffering ſo long the diſadvantage of being beſieged, and ſhut up in their ports; but with all poſſible expedition prepar'd another fleet, that might be ſufficient to remove the *Engliſh* from thence; ſo that in leſs than two months after their defeat, they had a fleet of an hundred and twenty-five ſail. From theſe wonderful preparations, they had ſo great confidence of ſucceſs, that they ſent admiral *Van Trump* out of the *Wieldings* with ninety-five ſail, before the reſt were ready, which *De Wit* ſoon after brought up to him from the *Texel*.

They are again defeated by the *Engliſh* in a terrible ſea-fight.

ON the 29th of *July*, the *Engliſh* ſcouts diſcover'd *Van Trump*'s fleet; of which they gave notice, that the whole fleet, which then lay about three leagues off to ſea, might make up to engage them: But the wind being againſt them, kept them from any action, till about ſix in the evening; when about thirty nimble frigates (the reſt being ſtill a-ſtern) began the encounter, which con-

continu'd till they were parted by the night. The *Dutch* bore away towards the *Texel*, and being re-inforc'd by the ſhips under *De Wit*, which were the prime of their navy, whereon they chiefly rely'd, *Van Trump* immediately endeavour'd to put all in a fighting poſture, deſigning to engage the next day; when the wind being very high, the *Engliſh* fleet, for fear of falling upon the flats, ſtood out to ſea. This made many of the *Dutch* ſuppoſe that the *Engliſh* were flying; inſomuch that one of the captains ſaid to *Van Trump*, *Sir, theſe dogs durſt not ſtand one broadſide from your excellency; you may ſee them plainly running home; and therefore, my lord, miſs not the opportunity.* But *Van Trump*, who had had ſufficient experience of the *Engliſh*, and knew the meaning of their ſtanding off, gave him this ſhort anſwer, *Do you look to your charge; for if the* Engliſh *were but twenty ſail, I am ſure they would fight us.* The next morning proving fair, both fleets prepared for the battle; and about five o'clock, the *Dutch* having the weather-gage, began the fight ſomewhat at a diſtance; but it was not long before both fleets were deſperately engaged. The ſea was never adorn'd with a more gallant fight in the beginning of the day, nor cover'd with a more diſmal one in the latter end; and no fight was ever carry'd on with more bloody obſtinacy and rage, than this was for ſeveral hours together. In the midſt of this terrible encounter, admiral *Van Trump*, the glory of the *Dutch* nation, as he ſtood upon his quarter-deck with his ſword drawn, bravely encouraging his men, being ſhot into the heart with a muſquet-ball, dropt down dead without ſpeaking a word. This ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, and put them in ſuch confuſion, that they fled and made all the ſail they could towards the *Texel*. About thirty of their men of war were fir'd or ſunk, and a great many priſoners taken. The victory

1653.

1653. was great, but coſt the *Engliſh* dear; for eight of their brave captains, with about four hundred men were ſlain, and about ſeven hundred wounded; tho' they loſt but one ſhip. This victory was ſo acceptable to general *Cromwell*'s parliament, that they appointed a day of thankſgiving for it, and order'd a narrative of it to be publickly read; and gave ſeveral gold chains to *Blake*, *Monk*, *Penn*, and *Lawſon*, for their good ſervice, and a gratuity to the reſt of the officers and ſeamen, according to their quality: And, 'tis ſaid, that the lord-general himſelf put the chain, and the medal, with the repreſentation of a ſea-fight, about *Monk*'s neck; and having invited him to dinner, made him wear it all the while.

They apply themſelves to the council of ſtate and to the parliament for peace, but in vain.

In *Holland*, after this laſt defeat, and the loſs of their brave admiral, all things were in great confuſion and diſtraction: The common people no longer obey'd their government; the placarts of the States-general were contemn'd, and they in danger to be ruin'd and plunder'd by the ignorant and furious rabble. They therefore with all ſubmiſſion applied themſelves by their ambaſſadors to the *Engliſh* council of ſtate; but from whom they could obtain no other terms of peace, than a coalition, ſatisfaction for damages, and ſecurity againſt the like for the future, and that the *Dutch* ſhould take a leaſe for twenty-one years for fiſhing, and pay an annual rent. The council of ſtate being thus reſolute, the plenipotentiaries reſolv'd to try what terms of peace might be had from the parliament: But here they were more confounded and perplexed than before; they found it was very difficult to treat with, and impoſſible to prevail upon theſe men, who took the *Dutch* for *the out-works of* Babylon, and look'd upon them *as carnal and worldly politicians, and enemies to the kingdom of* Chriſt, *which they thought was now approaching.* In this difficult conjuncture, the States met to conſult what was fit to

be

be done. 'Twas the opinion of *Holland*, never to enter into a coalition with *England*, but that a ſtrict league defenſive ſhould be propos'd; that they ought to contract foreign amities, particularly with *France*, and to equip out a fleet with all expedition. The reſt of the provinces were for making a league with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and other *German* princes, and for aſſiſting the *Scots*, many of whom were now riſing under major-general *Middleton*. But theſe treaties were remote and dangerous, whilſt their neceſſities were preſent; for which reaſon they gave orders to their plenipotentiaries, "To protract time according as they ſaw diſorders to increaſe between *Cromwell* and his ſupreme authority; to be ample in the generals concerning the defence of the reformed religion, and of the houſhold of faith; to reject the coalition, to offer to enter into a ſtrict and intimate league; but deal as tenderly as they could in point of reparation, ſatisfaction, or ſecurity." 1653.

THIS being all known to the council of ſtate, it was communicated to the parliament; who thereupon ſaid, "That it was no more than was propheſy'd in ſcripture, and in courſe to be expected, *That the gentiles ſhould rage, and the kings of the earth ſet themſelves againſt the kingdom of* Chriſt; *but they ſhould fall before him, and be broken in pieces.*" And they reſolv'd now to humble them, by impoſing very hard and mortifying articles upon them; ſo that they ſeemed to be in no better ſtate, than before the long parliament was diſſolv'd. In this extremity the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries made their applications to the lord-general *Cromwell*, aſſuring him, "That in caſe he would depoſe the preſent powers, and aſſume the government to himſelf, they would be ready to accord with him, upon more moderate terms, and enter into ſuch a defenſive alliance, as would ſecure him againſt all his foreign and domeſtick enemies."

They treat privately with general *Cromwell*.

1653. "enemies." The general found, that the proceedings of this parliament, tho' all of his own chuſing, were ſo uncommon and unaccountable in many particulars, that none could judge of their deſigns, or where they would end. And ſo upon both theſe accounts he reſolv'd to put a period to their power; and the means of doing it were concerted with *Rouſe* the ſpeaker, and ſome of the general's ſelect friends in the houſe, who were to bring it to bear with as little diſturbance as might be.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 12th of *December* in the morning, the members, who were in the ſecret, being met a little earlier than uſual, it was mov'd in the houſe, *That the ſitting of this parliament any longer, would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it would be fit for them to reſign up their powers into the hands of the lord-general.* This being ſeconded and urged by *Sydenham*, *Wolſley*, and others, the members on the contrary ſide, who were there, were much ſtartled and ſpoke vehemently againſt it: Upon which, thoſe who were for a reſignation, being apprehenſive, that by delaying time more might come to the houſe and outvote them, preſently mov'd, *That all who were for a diſſolution, ſhould riſe and walk out.* Accordingly, the ſpeaker and as many members as would follow him, went with the mace to *Whitehall*, and by a writing under their hands, reſign'd up their powers to the general. Above twenty of the members, whereof major-general *Harriſon* was one, continuing ſtill in the houſe, plac'd Mr. *Moyer* in the chair, and fell to proteſting againſt what the reſt had done; but a party of ſoldiers was ſent to turn them out, and ſo a period was put to this aſſembly, after a ſeſſion of five months and eight days.

The parliament reſign their powers to him.

BY this reſignation, the politick *Cromwell*, with his council of officers, was once more poſſeſs'd of the ſupreme power of the kingdom; whereupon he thought fit to adviſe with them, and with other

He conſults with his council of officers.

perſons

perſons of intereſt in the nation, *How this great burden of governing* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *with the armies therein, and the navy at ſea, ſhould be born, and by whom.* Theſe ſoon reſolv'd, *That a council of godly, able and diſcreet perſons ſhould be named; and that the* Lord General *ſhould be choſen* Lord Protector *of the three nations.* 1953.

He is declar'd *Protector* by the *Inſtrument of government.*

UPON this, a large inſtrument was drawn up, entitled, *The government of the commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; commonly call'd, *The inſtrument of government.* It conſiſted of forty two articles, and was in ſubſtance as follows:

" That the ſupreme legiſlative authority be, and " reſide in a ſingle perſon, and the people in par- " liament; the ſtile of which perſon to be *Lord* " protector *of the commonwealth of* England, Scot- " land, *and* Ireland. The executive power to be " in the *Protector*, with the advice of his council; " the number whereof not to exceed twenty-one, " nor be leſs than thirteen. All proceedings to " run in the name and ſtile of the *Lord Protector*; " and all honours, offices and titles to be derived " from him; and that he may pardon all offences " but treaſon and murder. The *militia*, in time " of parliament, to be in his and their hands; " but in the intervals only in his and his council's. " He and his council to make war and peace with " foreign princes. Not to make new laws, or " abrogate old ones, without conſent of parlia- " ment. A parliament to be ſummon'd to meet " at *Weſtminſter* upon the third day of *September*, " 1654, and afterwards every third year, and, if " need be, oftner, which the *Protector* ſhall not " diſſolve without conſent in parliament, till after " five months. The parliament to conſiſt of four " hundred *Engliſh* to be choſen according to the " proportions and numbers hereafter expreſſed, " that is to ſay, for the country of *Bedford*, ſix; " *viz.* for the town of *Bedford*, one; for the coun-

" ty

1653. " ty of *Bedford*, five. For the county of *Berks*,
" ſeven; *viz.* for the borough of *Abingdon*, one;
" for the borough of *Reading*, one; for the coun-
" ty of *Berks*, five, *&c.* (The members for *Corn-*
" *wall* were in this inſtrument reduc'd to twelve;
" thoſe for *Eſſex* were enlarg'd to ſixteen; and the
" city of *London* was to chuſe ſix.) The members
" for *Scotland* were to be thirty, and the ſame num-
" ber for *Ireland*. The ſummoning the parlia-
" ment to paſs under the ſeal of the common-
" wealth to the ſheriffs; and if the *Protector* omit
" or deny that, then the commiſſioner of the ſeal
" to be held under pain of treaſon to iſſue out ſuch
" writs; and in caſe of failure in him, the high-
" ſheriffs. Such as are elected, to be return'd in-
" to the *Chancery* by the chief magiſtrates (ſheriffs,
" mayors, or bailiffs) within twenty days after the
" election. If either the ſheriff, mayor or bailiff
" make a falſe return, or any ways procure an un-
" due election, let him be fin'd two thouſand
" pounds. Thoſe who have born arms againſt the
" parliament to be uncapable of being elected, or
" giving their vote for any members to ſerve in
" the next parliament, or in the three ſucceeding
" triennial parliaments; and *Iriſh* rebels and *Pa-*
" *piſts* to be for ever uncapable. None to be elect-
" ed under the age of twenty-one years, nor un-
" leſs he be a man of good converſation. None
" to have votes in elections, but ſuch as are worth
" 200*l.* Sixty to make a *Quorum*. Bills preſent-
" ed to the *Protector*, if not aſſented to by him
" within twenty days, to paſs into laws notwith-
" ſtanding; provided they contain nothing contra-
" ry to this inſtrument. A competent revenue to
" be ſettled for the maintenance of ten thouſand
" horſe and dragoons, and twenty thouſand foot
" in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and for a con-
" venient number of ſhips to guard the ſeas; and
" upon abating any of the forces by land or ſea,

" the

" the moneys to be brought to the *Exchequer* to 1653.
" ſerve ſudden occaſions. The raiſing of money
" for defraying the charge of the preſent extraor-
" dinary forces both at land and ſea, to be by con-
" ſent in parliament, and not otherwiſe; ſave only
" that the *Protector*, with the advice of his coun-
" cil, ſhall have power, until the meeting of the
" firſt parliament, to raiſe money for the purpoſes
" aforeſaid, and alſo to make laws and ordinances
" for the peace and welfare of theſe nations; which
" ſhall be in force, till the parliament ſhall take
" order concerning the ſame. All forfeited lands
" unſold to belong to the *Protector*. The *Prote-*
" *ctorate* to be elective, but the royal family to be
" excluded; and no *Protector* after the preſent to
" be general of the army. *Oliver Cromwell* to be
" the preſent *Protector*. All the great offices of the
" commonwealth, ſuch as chancellor, keeper of
" the ſeal, treaſurer, admiral, governors of *Ire-*
" *land* and *Scotland*, *&c.* if they become void in
" time of parliament, to be ſupply'd with their
" approbation, and in intervals of parliament with
" the approbation of the council. The Chriſtian
" Religion, as contain'd in the holy ſcriptures, to
" be the publick profeſſion of theſe nations; and
" thoſe that adminiſter it, to be maintain'd by the
" publick, but by ſome way more convenient and
" leſs liable to envy than tithes. None to be com-
" pell'd to conſent to the publick profeſſion, by
" fine or any puniſhment whatever, but only by
" perſuaſion and arguments. None that profeſs
" faith in *Chriſt*, however otherwiſe they differ,
" to be reſtrain'd from, but to be protected in the
" exerciſe of their religion, ſo they do not quarrel
" with and diſturb others; this liberty not to ex-
" tend to *Popery* or *Prelacy*. All ſales of parlia-
" ment to ſtand good. Articles of peace to be
" kept. The *Protectors* ſucceſſively, upon enter-
" ing on their charge, to ſwear to procure, by all

" means,

1653. " means, the peace, quiet and welfare of the com-
" monwealth, to obſerve theſe articles, and to ad-
" miniſter all things (to their power) according
" to the laws, ſtatutes and cuſtoms."

He is inſtall'd. ALL things being prepar'd, on the 16th of *December*, about three in the afternoon, his Excellency, the Lord General, went from *Whitehall* to the *Chancery* court, in the following manner: The commiſſioners of the great ſeal march'd firſt; then the judges and barons in their robes; next to them the council of the commonwealth; then the lord-mayor, aldermen, and recorder of *London*; after them, came the Lord General, attended with the chief officers of the army. In this proceſſion they aſcended the *Chancery* court, where was ſet a rich chair of ſtate, with a large cuſhion, and carpets on the floor. The General ſtood on the left hand of it uncover'd, till the foremention'd inſtrument was read; which his Excellency ſubſcrib'd in the face of the court, and took an oath in theſe words:

His oath. " WHEREAS the major part of the laſt parlia-
" ment (judging that their ſitting any longer, as
" then conſtituted, would not be for the good of
" the commonwealth) did diſſolve the ſame, and
" by a writing under their hands, dated the 12th
" day of this inſtant *December*, reſigned unto me
" their powers and authorities: And whereas it
" was neceſſary thereupon, that ſome ſpeedy courſe
" ſhould be taken for the ſettlement of theſe na-
" tions upon ſuch a baſis and foundation, as, by
" the bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure
" property, and anſwer thoſe great ends of reli-
" gion and liberty, ſo long contended for: And
" upon full and mature conſideration had of the
" form of government hereunto annexed, being
" ſatisfy'd that the ſame, thro' divine aſſiſtance,
" may anſwer the ends aforemention'd; and hav-
" ing alſo been deſired and adviſed, as well by
" ſeveral perſons of intereſt and fidelity in the
" common-

" commonwealth, as the officers of the army, to 1653.
" take upon me the protection and government of
" theſe nations, in the manner expreſſed in the
" ſaid form of government: I have accepted
" thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance
" accordingly; and do promiſe in the preſence of
" God, that I will not violate or infringe the mat-
" ters and things contained therein; but to my
" power, obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be
" obſerv'd; and ſhall in all other things, to the
" beſt of my underſtanding, govern theſe nations
" according to the laws, ſtatutes and cuſtoms, ſeek-
" ing their peace, and cauſing juſtice and law to
" be equally adminiſter'd."

THIS done, he ſat down in the chair, cover'd; and the commiſſioners deliver'd up the great ſeal to him, and the lord-mayor his ſword and cap of maintenance; which the *Protector* immediately return'd to them again. The ceremony being over, the ſoldiers with a ſhout cry'd out, *God bleſs the* Lord protector *of the commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. And ſo they went back to *Whitehall*, the lord-mayor uncover'd carrying the ſword before his Highneſs. When they came into the *Banqueting-houſe*, Mr. *Lockier* made an exhortation to them; and ſo the lord-mayor, aldermen and judges departed.

He is proclaim'd.

PRESENTLY after, the following proclamation, ſet forth by the council, was publiſh'd in the *Palace-yard*, at the *Old Exchange*, and ſeveral other places in *London*; and as ſoon as could be, throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. " Whereas
" the late parliament, diſſolving themſelves, and
" reſigning their powers and authorities, the go-
" vernment of the commonwealth of *England*,
" *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by a *Lord Protector* and ſuc-
" ceſſive *triennial Parliaments*, is now eſtabliſh'd:
" and whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, captain-general
" of all the forces of this common-wealth, is de-
" clar'd

1653. " clar'd *Lord Protector* of the ſaid nations, and hath " accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it " neceſſary (as we hereby do) to make publica- " tion of the premiſes, and ſtrictly to charge and " command all, and every perſon and perſons, of " what quality and condition ſoever, in any of the " ſaid three nations, to take notice thereof, and " to conform and ſubmit themſelves to the govern- " ment ſo eſtabliſh'd. And all ſheriffs, mayors, " bailiffs, and other publick miniſters and offi- " cers, whom this may concern, are requir'd to " cauſe this proclamation to be forthwith publiſh'd " in their reſpective counties, cities, corporations, " and market-towns; to the end none may have " cauſe to pretend ignorance in this behalf." And now care was taken to alter all writs and proceſs, from the ſtile of the *Keepers of the liberties of* England, to that of *Protector*. Upon this new advancement, we are told, that *Cromwell* obſerv'd new and great ſtate, and all ceremonies and reſpects were paid to him by all ſorts of men, as to their Prince.

THUS, as has been obſerv'd by many, did this extraordinary man, with ſo little pains, mount himſelf into the throne of three kingdoms, without the title of *King*, but with more power and authority than had ever been exercis'd by any preceeding King: He made the greateſt figure in *Europe* in his time, and receiv'd greater marks of reſpect and eſteem from all the Kings and Princes in *Chriſtendom*, than had ever been ſhewn to any Monarch of theſe nations; which was the more wonderful, in that they all hated him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendſhip.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From his being declared PROTECTOR, *to the meeting of his ſecond parliament.*

CROMWELL being thus rais'd to the power of a monarch, proceeded in the exerciſe of his government, with the greateſt vigour and induſtry. He and his council ſet forth ſeveral ordinances; amongſt the reſt, one declaring what offences ſhould be adjudg'd treaſon; another for repealing thoſe acts and reſolves of parliament, which had formerly been made for ſubſcribing to the *Engagement* againſt a ſingle perſon and houſe of peers; another for appointing perſons to be approvers of miniſters. At his firſt aſſuming the government, there were three great parties in the nation all againſt him, the *Epiſcopal party*, the *Preſbyterians*, and the *Republicans*: And it requir'd the greateſt dexterity and ſkill to manage theſe very oppoſite factions, and to prevent the ill effects of the plots and conſpiracies they were ſo ready to run into. He had only the army to rely upon; and that enthuſiaſtick ſpirit he had taken ſo much pains to raiſe among them, render'd them very intractable; ſo that he was forc'd to break and impriſon many of his officers; and he flatter'd the reſt as well as he could, going on in his old way of long and dark diſcourſes.

1653.

His condition and proceedings at his firſt entering upon the government.

His management with the army.

HE was apprehenſive of aſſaſſination, and other plottings from the *Cavalier* party; as to the former of which, he took a method that prov'd of great uſe to him: He would many times openly declare, "That in a war it was neceſſary to return upon "any ſide, all the violent things that any of the "one ſide did to the other; and this for the pre-"venting greater miſchief, and for bringing men "to fair war: And that aſſaſſinations were ſuch "deteſtable things, that he would never begin "them; but if any of the king's party ſhould en-

With the Cavaliers.

1653. "deavour to aſſaſſinate him, and fail in it, he "would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and de- "ſtroy the whole family." And he pretended he had inſtruments to do this, whenever he ſhould order it. This ſtruck ſuch a terror, that it prov'd a better ſecurity to him than his guards. And whenever they were plotting againſt him, he had his agents and ſpies amongſt them, to give him notice of their preparations and proceedings; by which means all their ſchemes were broken, and their deſigns fruſtrate, before they could bring them to perfection.

With the *Presbyterians.*

THE *Preſbyterians* ſo dreaded the fury of the commonwealth party, that they look'd upon *Cromwell*'s turning them out to be a happy deliverance for them; and to ſoften theſe the more, he aſſur'd them he would maintain a publick miniſtry with all due encouragement, which the *Republicans* were moſtly againſt; and he joined them in a commiſſion with ſome *Independents* to be *Tryers* of all publick preachers, who ſhould, for the future, be admitted to any benefice. The perſons ſo commiſſion'd did likewiſe diſpoſe of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the biſhops, and of the cathedral churches. Nevertheleſs, when he perceiv'd that the *Preſbyterians* began to take too much upon them, to be uneaſy under the government, or meddle in civil affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let looſe againſt them thoſe of the other ſects, who took pleaſure in diſputing with their preachers, and interrupting their religious worſhip; and 'tis ſaid, he was by many heard to glory, *That he had curb'd that inſolent ſect, that would ſuffer none but itſelf.* So that they were forc'd to thank him for permitting them the exerciſe of their religious worſhip in their own congregations.

With the commonwealth party.

THE *Republican* party were his greateſt enemies, and moſt bent on his ruin, looking on him as the perſon who had perfidiouſly broken all their meaſures,

ſures, and betray'd their glorious cauſe. This party therefore he ſtudied by all means to divide among themſelves, and to ſet the fifth-monarchy men, and other enthuſiaſts, againſt thoſe who proceeded only upon the principles of civil liberty; ſuch as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Nevill*, *Martin*, *Ludlow*, *Wildman*, and *Harrington*. 1653.

As to *Vane* and his party, who were likewiſe call'd *Independents*, they indeed, from the time they were turned out of the long parliament, retir'd quietly into the country, where they endeavour'd to prejudice their neighbours againſt the preſent government, and yet managed themſelves with ſo much caution, as not to diſturb the quiet of the nation, nor give the *Protector* any great advantage againſt them.

THE *Levellers*, many of whom had been the moſt active *Agitators* in the army, were the moſt furious and deſperate of all the commonwealth party. Theſe, from the time that the general aſſum'd the title of *Protector*, which was to them as odious as that of *King*, profeſs'd a mortal hatred to his perſon; and he knew very well that theſe men, as well as the laſt mention'd, had great credit in his army, and with ſome of the chief officers; ſo that he more really dreaded them, than all the king's party, and ſubtilly colour'd many of the preparations he made againſt them, as if they were deſign'd againſt the other. The fifth-monarchy men ſeem'd to be in daily expectation of the coming of King *Jeſus*, and the *Protector* found it no eaſy matter to give them ſatisfaction, ſince his aſſuming the government after this manner, look'd like a ſtep to kingſhip, which they repreſented as the great *Antichriſt*, which hindered *Chriſt*'s being ſet on his throne. To theſe men he would ſay with many tears, "That he would "rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the "*Protectorſhip*, ſince nothing was more contrary

1653. " to his genius, than a ſhew of greatneſs: But he " ſaw it was neceſſary at that time, to keep the " nation from falling into extreme diſorder, and " from becoming open to the common enemy; " and therefore he only ſtept in between the liv- " ing and the dead, in that interval, till God " ſhould direct them on what bottom they ought " to ſettle; and then he would ſurrender the " heavy load lying upon him with a joy equal to " the ſorrow with which he was affected, while " under that ſhew of dignity." He would alſo carry himſelf with great familiarity towards theſe men, and enter into the terms of their old equality, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down cover'd by him, that they might ſee how little he car'd for thoſe diſtances, which for form ſake he was forc'd to keep up with others; and their diſcourſe commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus, with much ado, he pretty well managed the *Enthuſiaſts* of the commonwealth party. As to the other *Republicans*, many of whom were inclin'd to *Deiſm*, he call'd them the *Heathens*, and acknowledg'd he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had ſome chaplains of all ſorts, and became at length more gentle towards the *Epiſcopal* party, who had their meetings in ſeveral places about *London*, without being moleſted by him. In the end, even the *Roman Catholicks* courted him; and he with wonderful art carry'd things farther with all parties than was thought poſſible, conſidering the great difficulties he had to encounter with.

THAT he might the better manage the ſeveral factions he ſtood moſt in awe of, he made choice of the moſt active and leading men into his council, by whoſe influence he had the guiding of all the reſt of each party. The firſt perſons nominated to be of his council, purſuant to the *inſtrument of government*, were major general *Lambert*, lieu-

His firſt council.

lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, colonel *Montague*, (afterwards made earl of *Sandwich* by King *Charles* II.) *Philip* lord viſcount *Liſle* (ſince earl of *Leiceſter*) colonel *Deſborough*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* (afterwards earl of *Shaftſbury*) Sir *Charles Wolſley*, major-general *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, colonel *Sydenham*, colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major*; in all fifteen. 1653.

He ſets out a proclamation.

ON the 21ſt of *December*, a proclamation was publiſhed by his Highneſs, with the advice and conſent of his council, in the following terms: "*Oliver*, lord protector of the commonwealth "of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, conſidering, "That whereas the exerciſe of the chief magiſtracy, and the adminiſtration of government, "within the ſaid commonwealth is inveſted and "eſtabliſhed in his highneſs, aſſiſted with a coun"cil; and leſt thereupon the ſettled and ordinary "courſe of juſtice in the commonwealth (if re"medy were not provided) might receive inter"ruption; his highneſs, in his care of the ſtate "and publick juſtice thereof (reſerving to future "conſideration the reformation and redreſs of any "abuſes by miſgovernment, upon better know"ledge taken thereof) is pleaſed, and doth here"by expreſsly ſignify, declare, and ordain, by and "with the advice and conſent of his council "(who have power, until the meeting of the "next parliament, to make laws and ordinances "for the peace and welfare of theſe nations, where "it ſhall be neceſſary; which ſhall be binding "and in force, until order ſhall be taken in par"liament concerning the ſame) That all perſons, "who on the tenth day of this inſtant *December*, "were duly and lawfully poſſeſſed of any place of "judicature, or office of authority, juriſdiction, "or government, within this commonwealth, "ſhall be, and ſhall ſo hold themſelves, continu'd "in the ſaid offices and places reſpectively, as

1653. " formerly they held and enjoy'd the ſame, and " not otherwiſe, until his Highneſs's pleaſure be " farther known: And all the commiſſions, pa- " tents, and other grants, which reſpect or relate " unto the doing and executing of publick juſtice, " and all proceedings of what nature ſoever in " courts of common-law or equity, or in the " court of admiralty, or by commiſſioners of " ſewers, ſhall ſtand and be in the ſame and like " force to all intents and purpoſes, as the ſame " were on the ſaid tenth day of this inſtant *De-* " *cember*, until farther order given by his High- " neſs therein: And that in the mean time (for " preſervation of the publick peace, and neceſſary " proceedings in matters of juſtice, and for ſafety " of the ſtate) all the ſaid perſons, of whatſoever " place, power, degree or condition, may not fail " every one ſeverally, according to his reſpective " place, office, or charge, to proceed in the per- " formance and execution of all duties thereunto " belonging, as formerly appertaining to them, and " every of them, whilſt the former government " was in being. *Given at* Whitehall *this 21ſt day* " *of* December, *in the year of our Lord* 1653."

Several ordinances paſſed by him.

On the 27th, the *Lord Protector* and his council paſs'd an ordinance, for continuing the exciſe and the commiſſioners: Another for continuing the act for redemption of captives: And a third for the alteration of ſeveral names and forms, uſed heretofore in courts, writs, grants, patents, commiſſions, *&c.* and ſettling proceedings in courts of law and equity. And ſhortly after, another ordinance was paſs'd, appointing a committee of the army, and treaſurers at war, as formerly. Theſe and a great many other ordinances were paſs'd by the *Lord Protector* and his council, before the meeting of the parliament. His Highneſs apply'd himſelf very cloſely to buſineſs, and was indefatigable in the management of the publick affairs.

All

ALL things ſeeming to favour the *Protector* and his government, both at home and abroad, he was invited by the lord-mayor, and aldermen, to dine at *Grocers-hall* on the 8th day of *February*, being *Aſh-wedneſday*. Accordingly, he rode thither in great ſtate, the ſtreets being rail'd on both ſides, and the rails cover'd with blue cloth, and the ſeveral companies in their liveries ſtanding all the way, according to their ſuperiority, with the city banner and ſtreamers of the reſpective companies ſet before them. The lord-mayor *Viner*, with the aldermen in ſcarlet and gold chains, rode to *Temple-bar*, where meeting his Highneſs with his train, he deliver'd up the ſword to him, and after a ſhort congratulatory ſpeech, they proceeded to *Grocers-hall* in the following manner: The city-marſhal, with ſome other officers, march'd firſt; then ſix trumpets, and after them his Highneſs's life-guard; next, eight trumpets more, followed by the city-ſtreamers; then the aldermen, and the two ſheriffs after them; then his Highneſs's heralds, with rich coats, adorn'd with the arms of the commonwealth. After them, the mace and cap of maintenance were carried before the lord-mayor, who carried the ſword bare-headed before his Highneſs the Lord *Protector*, who followed with twelve footmen in grey liveries laced with ſilver, and other ornaments. After the *Protector* rode major-general *Skippon*, with the reſt of the council, and the great officers of the army. Being come to *Grocers-hall*, the recorder made a ſpeech to his Highneſs, declaring, "How happy "that city did account themſelves under his au-"ſpicious government, and alſo in the enjoyment "of his preſence with them that day." Then he was feaſted in a moſt ſplendid and magnificent manner; and before his departure he knighted the lord-mayor with as much grace as if he had been king. At this feaſt, we are told, that when

1653.

His magnificent entertainment in the city.

1653. it was propoſed to ſerve him on the knee, he refus'd it with ſome diſdain, ſaying, *Such ceremonies ſhould be only practiſed at* Rome, *where they are ſo greedy of ceremonies, or in kingdoms govern'd by tyrants; but ſhould be baniſhed out of a Chriſtian and Proteſtant commonwealth, as was that of* England. Within a ſhort time after, his Highneſs invited the lord-mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs to dine with him at *Whitehall:* And it was obſerv'd, that in all his entertainments, audiences, *&c.* he maintain'd the port of a great Prince, as much as if he had been ſo born and bred; that his ſoul extended itſelf always in proportion to the room that was given it, and in whatever ſpace he ſtood, he always fill'd it. And now addreſſes were preſented to the Lord *Protector*, from all parts of the three nations, congratulating his acceſſion to the government; and ſeveral foreign miniſters came over to him, acknowledging his power, courting his alliance, and giving him his title of *Highneſs*.

Addreſſes and embaſſies to him.

1654. He concludes a peace with the *Dutch*.

THE Lord *Protector* ſoon concluded the peace with the *Dutch*, having brought them to accept of ſuch conditions as he thought fit to give them: Among which one was, *That they ſhould not permit any of the king's party, or any enemy of the commonwealth of* England, *to reſide within their dominions*; and another, which was contain'd in a ſecret article, to which the great ſeal of the *States* was affix'd, whereby they oblig'd themſelves, "Never to permit the Prince of *Orange* to be their *Stadtholder*, "general or admiral; and alſo to deliver up the "iſland of *Polerone* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which they "had taken from the *Engliſh* in the reign of King "*James*, into the hands of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* "company; and to pay three hundred thouſand "pounds for the old barbarous violence exercis'd "towards the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*," for which the two laſt kings could not obtain any ſatisfaction: "That they ſhould comply with the act of *Navigation*;

"*gation*; and that they ſhould own the ſovereignty "of the ſea to be in the commonwealth of *Eng-* "*land*, and no more diſpute the flag." And thus about the beginning of *April*, the whole peace was concluded between the Lord *Protector* and the *States General*, with all the advantages to himſelf he could deſire. 1654.

He makes ſeveral promotions.

THE Lord *Protector*, according to the power given him by the *inſtrument of government*, ſupply'd the benches of the courts at *Weſtminſter*, with the ableſt of the lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick ſervice. Mr. *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, *Nudigate*, *Windham*, *&c.* were made ſerjeants at law; and Mr. *Matthew Hale* one of the juſtices of the common-pleas, *&c.* Mr. *John Thurloe*, who had been ſecretary to the chief-juſtice *St. John*, when he was ambaſſador at the *Hague*, was advanced to the office of ſecretary of ſtate. And to keep the other two nations in order and obedience, his Highneſs ſent general *Monk* back again into *Scotland*, and his youngeſt ſon *Henry Cromwell* into *Ireland*, whom he made his lieutenant of that kingdom.

He is fear'd and courted by foreign powers.

As the *Protector* diſcover'd a wonderful genius in the management of affairs at home, ſo his power and policy were more and more obſerved and reverenc'd abroad; and all nations now contended, by their ambaſſadors, which ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him. *Denmark* had the favour of being taken into the *Dutch* treaty, upon the good terms of making the *States* reſponſible for one hundred and forty thouſand pounds, to repair the damage which the *Engliſh* ſuffered from the *Danes*. About the ſame time, by the negotiation of his ambaſſador *Whitelock*, he made a firm alliance with the kingdom of *Sweden*. He forced *Portugal* to ſend an ambaſſador to beg peace, and to ſubmit to make ſatisfaction for the offence they had committed in receiving prince *Rupert*, by the payment of a great ſum of money; and brought even the two

crowns

1654. crowns of *France* and *Spain*, to ſue for his alliance: For which purpoſe, the ambaſſador of the former, Monſieur *de Bordeaux*, had an audience of his Highneſs in the Banqueting-houſe, *Whitehall*, on the 29th of *March*, with the ſame ſtate and ceremony, as is wont to be uſed towards foreign Princes; when he addreſſed himſelf thus to him.

The *French* ambaſſador's ſpeech to him.

" YOUR moſt ſerene Highneſs has already re-
" ceiv'd ſome principal aſſurances of the King my
" maſter, of his deſire to eſtabliſh a perfect cor-
" reſpondency betwixt his dominions and *Eng-*
" *land*. His Majeſty, this day, gives to your
" Highneſs ſome publick demonſtration of the
" ſame; and his ſending his ambaſſador to your
" Highneſs, does plainly ſhew, that the eſteem
" which his Majeſty makes of your Highneſs, and
" intereſt of his people, have more power in his
" councils than many conſiderations, that would
" be of great concernment to a Prince leſs affect-
" ed with the one and the other. This proceed-
" ing, grounded upon ſuch principles, and ſo
" different from what is only guided by ambition,
" renders the amity of the King my maſter as
" conſiderable for its firmneſs as its utility; for
" which reaſon it is ſo eminently eſteemed and
" courted by all the greateſt Princes and Poten-
" tates of the earth. But his Majeſty com-
" municates none to any with ſo much joy and
" chearfulneſs, as to thoſe whoſe virtuous acts and
" extraordinary merits render them more con-
" ſpicuouſly famous, than the largeneſs of their
" dominions. His majeſty is ſenſible, that all
" thoſe advantages do wholly reſide in your High-
" neſs; and that the divine providence, after ſo
" many calamities, could not deal more favourably
" with theſe three nations, to cauſe them to forget
" their paſt miſeries with greater ſatisfaction, than
" by ſubmitting them to ſo juſt a government.
" And ſince it is not ſufficient for the compleating

" of

" of their happineſs, to make them enjoy peace at 1654.
" home, becauſe it depends no leſs on good cor-
" reſpondency with nations abroad; the King my
" maſter does not doubt but to find alſo the ſame
" diſpoſition in your Highneſs, which his Majeſty
" here expreſſes in his letters. After ſo many diſ-
" poſitions expreſſed both by his Majeſty and your
" Highneſs, towards the accommodation of the
" two nations, there is reaſon to believe, that
" their wiſhes will be ſoon accompliſh'd. As for
" me, I have none greater, than to be able to
" ſerve the King my maſter, with the good plea-
" ſure and ſatisfaction of your Highneſs; and that
" the happineſs I have, to tender to your High-
" neſs the firſt aſſurances of his Majeſty's eſteem,
" may give me occaſion, by my ſervices, to me-
" rit the honour of your gracious affection."

THE *Protector*'s zeal for the proteſtant religion appear'd on ſeveral occaſions; of which I ſhall here inſert one inſtance, leaving others to ſome following periods of this hiſtory. It is that of a letter to the Prince of *Tarente* in *France*, written in *Latin* (his *Latin* ſecretary being the immortal *Milton*) which is as follows:

His letter to the prince of *Tarente*.

OLIVERIUS, *Protector Reip.* Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. *Illuſtriſſimo Principi* Tarentino, *ſalutem. Perſpectus ex literis tuis ad me datis religionis amor tuus, & in eccleſias reformatas pietas eximia, ſtudiumq; ſingulare, in iſta præſertim generis nobilitate ac ſplendore, eoq; ſub regno, in quo, deficientibus ab orthodoxa fide, tot ſunt nobiliſſimis quibuſq; ſpes uberes propoſitæ, tot firmioribus incommoda ſubeunda; permagno me plane gaudio ac voluptate affecit. Nec minus gratum erat placuiſſe me tibi eo ipſo religionis nomine, quo nihil mihi dilectius atq; charius imprimis eſſe debet. Deum autem obteſtor, quam de me ſpem eccleſiarum & expectationem eſſe oſtendis, ſi poſſim ei aliquando vel ſatisfacere, ſi opus erit, vel demonſtrare omnibus, quam cupiam non deeſſe.*

Nullum

1654. *Nullum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nullum hujus, quam obtineo in republica mea, ſive dignitatis, ſive muneris, nec ampliorem exiſtimarem nec jucundiorem, quam ut idoneus ſim, qui eccleſiæ reformatæ vel amplificationi, vel incolumitati, vel, quod maximum eſt, paci ſerviam. Te vero hortor magnopere, ut religionem orthodoxam, qua pietate ac ſtudio à majoribus acceptam profiteris, eadem animi firmitate atq; conſtantia ad extremum uſque retineas. Nec ſane quidquam erit te tuiſq; parentibus religioſiſſimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis, quamquam tua cauſa cupio omnia, optare tibi melius aut præclarius queam, quam ſi ſic te pares atq; inſtituas, ut eccleſiæ præſertim patriæ, quarum in diſciplina tam fælici indole tamq; illuſtri loco natus es, quanto cæteris præluces, tanto firmius in te præſidium ſuis rebus conſtitutum eſſe ſentiant. Vale.* Alba Aula, *Die* 26 Junii, 1654. *Illuſtriſſimæ dignitatis veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus,*

OLIVERIUS.

Which letter I have thus tranſlated:

" OLIVER, Protector of the common-wealth " of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, &c. To the moſt " illuſtrious Prince of *Tarente*, greeting. It was " a very great pleaſure and ſatisfaction to me, to " perceive by your highneſs's letter which you " ſent me, your love of religion, and your extra- " ordinary zeal and concern for the reformed " churches, eſpecially conſidering your quality, " and that you live in a country where ſuch great " things are promiſed to all perſons of your rank, " if they forſake the orthodox faith, and ſo many " diſcouragements are laid in the way of thoſe " who continue ſtedfaſt. Nor was it leſs plea- " ſing to me, to find that your Highneſs approv'd " of my care and concern for the ſame religion, " than which nothing ought to be more dear and

" pre-

" precious to me. And I call God to witneſs, 1654.
" how deſirous I am, according as I have ability
" and opportunity, to anſwer the hope and ex-
" pectation which you ſay the churches have con-
" cerning me, and to manifeſt it to all. Indeed
" I ſhould eſteem it the greateſt and beſt fruit
" of my labours, and of this dignity, or office,
" which I hold in this commonwealth, to be
" put in a capacity of being ſerviceable either to
" the enlargement, or the ſafety, or, which is
" the chief of all, the peace of the reformed
" church. And I earneſtly exhort your Highneſs
" that you would hold faſt to the end the ortho-
" dox religion you have received from your fa-
" thers, with a firmneſs and conſtancy of mind
" equal to the piety and zeal you diſcover in the
" profeſſion of it. Nor indeed can there be any
" thing more worthy of yourſelf and of your moſt
" pious parents; and, though I could deſire all
" things for your ſake, yet I can wiſh you nothing
" better, nothing more excellent, in return for
" the civilities you have ſhown me, than that
" you ſo conduct yourſelf, that the churches, eſ-
" pecially thoſe of your own country, in whoſe
" diſcipline you were born with ſo happy a diſ-
" poſition and of ſuch a noble family, may find
" in you a protection anſwerable to the high ſta-
" tion in which you are placed above others.
" Farewell. *Whitehall*, June 26, 1654. Your
" Highneſs's moſt affectionate and moſt devoted,

OLIVER.

He makes an union of the three nations.

THE *Lord Protector* had reſolv'd more firmly to unite the three nations into one *commonwealth*. Accordingly, with conſent of his council, he made an ordinance, *April* the 12th, declaring, " How " he had taken into conſideration, that the people " of *Scotland* ought to be united with the people

" of

1654. " of *England*, into one commonwealth, and under one government; and had found, that in " *December* 1651, the parliament then ſitting had " ſent commiſſioners into *Scotland*, to invite the " people of that nation unto ſuch a happy union; " who proceeded ſo far therein, that the ſhires and " boroughs did accept of the ſaid union, and aſſent " thereunto: For the compleating and perfecting " which union, he now ordain'd, *That all the peo-* " *ple of* Scotland, *and of all the dominions and terri-* " *tories thereunto belonging, ſhould be incorporated in-* " *to one commonwealth with* England; *and in every* " *parliament to be held ſucceſſively for the ſaid com-* " *monwealth, thirty perſons ſhould be call'd from,* " *and ſerve for* Scotland, *&c.*" And ſhortly after, another ordinance was made for a like diſtribution of thirty members from *Ireland*, to ſerve in the parliament at *Weſtminſter*. About the ſame time an ordinance was publiſhed, prohibiting the planting of *Tobacco* in *England*; which is a law at this day.

A conſpiracy, for which *Gerard* and *Vowel* are executed.

ABOUT this time ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and charged with a conſpiracy to murder the *Lord Protector* as he ſhould be going to *Hampton-court*, to ſeize the guards, the *Tower* of *London*, and the magazines, and to proclaim the King. The chief of theſe were Mr. *Somerſet Fox*, Mr. *John Gerard*, and Mr. *Vowel*; who being tried by a high court of juſtice, and condemn'd, *Fox*, who confeſs'd much of what was alledg'd againſt him, had the benefit of a reprieve; but *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, and *Vowel* hang'd at *Charing-croſs*; both of them denying what they were accus'd of, and dying with great magnanimity and reſolution.

The *Portugal* ambaſſador's brother commits a riot.

ON the ſame day, there was another execution of an extraordinary nature: Don *Pantaleon Sa*, the *Portugal* ambaſſador's brother, a knight of *Malta*, and a perſon eminent in many great actions, who out of curioſity to ſee *England*, came over with the ambaſſador, happen'd to have a quarrel in the *New-*

New-Exchange with the foremention'd Mr. *Gerard*; to revenge which, he went thither the next day, with ſervants arm'd with ſwords and piſtols; where they kill'd another man, whom they took to be Mr. *Gerard*, and hurt and wounded ſeveral others. Upon this there was rais'd a great tumult, and the *Portugueſe* flying to the ambaſſador's houſe, the people came flocking thither from all parts to ſeize the murderers. *Cromwell* being inform'd of the matter, ſent an officer, with a party of ſoldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more eſpecially demanded of the ambaſſador the perſon of his brother, threatning, if he was not deliver'd up, to break open the houſe, and take him out by force. The ambaſſador inſiſted upon the privilege due to his houſe by the law of nations, and deſired time to ſend to the *Protector*, to whom he made complaint of the violence done to him, and requeſted an audience. His Highneſs ſent him word, "That "a gentleman had been murder'd, and others "wounded, and that *Juſtice muſt be ſatisfied*; re- "quiring, that all perſons concern'd might be de- "liver'd up to his officer; without which, if he "ſhould withdraw his ſoldiers, the people would "execute juſtice, by a way for which he would "not be anſwerable: But this being done, he "ſhould have an audience, and all the ſatisfaction "it was in his power to give." The ambaſſador finding it in vain to contend, and the multitude increaſing their cry, *That they would pull down the houſe*, he was, to his great grief, forc'd to deliver up his brother with the reſt, who were all ſent priſoners to *Newgate*. The ambaſſador was moſt earneſt in his ſollicitations for his brother, being willing the others ſhould be left to the law; but all the anſwer he could have, was, *That juſtice muſt be done*. And juſtice was done to the utmoſt; for being all try'd by a jury of half *Engliſh* and half *foreigners*, as many as were found guilty, and among them

1654.

1654. them the ambaſſador's brother, were condemn'd to die. All were hang'd at *Tyburn*, ſays the lord *Clarendon*; *Whitelock* ſays they were all repriev'd, except Don *Pantaleon*, who, immediately after the execution of *Gerard*, was convey'd from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a mourning coach and ſix horſes, attended by ſeveral of his brother's retinue; and there, on the ſame ſcaffold, loſt his head, with as much terror and dejection of ſpirit, as *Gerard* had done with courage and reſolution. This mightily raiſed the opinion of the *Protector*'s juſtice, as well as of his power. And 'tis very remarkable, that on the very day of this execution, the *Portugal* ambaſſador was oblig'd to ſign the articles of peace between the two nations; whereupon he immediately went out of town.

He is condemn'd and executed.

Dr. *Welwood*'s remark upon it.

And here Dr. *Welwood* remarks, "That whatever reaſon the houſe of *Auſtria* had to hate the memory of *Cromwell*, yet his cauſing the *Portugal* ambaſſador's brother to be executed, notwithſtanding his plea of being a publick miniſter as well as his brother, was, near twenty years after *Cromwell*'s death, brought as a precedent by the Emperor, to juſtify his arreſting and carrying off the Prince of *Furſtenburgh* at the treaty of *Cologne*, notwithſtanding his being a plenipotentiary for the Elector of that name. And in the printed manifeſto, publiſh'd by the Emperor on that occaſion, this piece of *Cromwell*'s juſtice is related at large."

The Protector calls a parliament.

The *Lord Protector* knowing, that tho' he had obtain'd the government, it was not confirm'd to him by the people, reſolv'd, in purſuance of the *inſtrument of government*, to ſummon a parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 3d of *September*; and accordingly order'd writs to be iſſued out for the election of members to ſerve in parliament, after the manner laid down in the ſaid *inſtrument*. It was his greateſt care how to manage this aſſembly,

ſo

ſo that they might proceed according to his own deſires; but tho' he had a great influence upon the people, and a great awe upon the ſheriffs and magiſtrates, and brought the trial of elections into a committee of his own council, before the opening of the parliament, yet it prov'd not for his purpoſe; as we ſhall ſee in the following chapter. 1654.

CHAP. IV.

His ſecond PARLIAMENT.

ON the 3d day of *September*, tho' it happen'd to be *Sunday*, the Lord Protector, who reckon'd that his fortunate day, would have the parliament open'd: And ſo the members, after hearing a ſermon at *Weſtminſter-abbey*, attended his Highneſs in the *Painted Chamber*; where he made a ſpeech to them, ſhewing the cauſe of their ſummons; after which, they went to their houſe, and adjourn'd to the next day. The Protector then rode in ſtate from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter-abbey*, ſome hundreds of gentlemen and officers going before uncover'd, and next before the coach, his pages and lacqueys richly cloath'd: On the one ſide of his coach, went *Strickland*, one of his council, and captain of his guards, with the maſter of the ceremonies, both on foot; and on the other ſide, walk'd colonel *Howard* (afterwards earl of *Carliſle*) another captain of the guards. His ſon *Henry* and *Lambert* ſat with him in the coach, bare-headed. After the coach came *Claypole*, maſter of the horſe, with a gallant led horſe, adorn'd with the richeſt trappings; and next after him the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, and of the treaſury, and divers of the council in coaches, and the ordinary guards. Being come to the abbey door, his Highneſs alighted; and the officers of the army and the gentlemen went firſt, next them four maces, then the commiſſioners of the ſeal, *Whitelock*

The opening of his ſecond parliament.

1654. carrying the purſe, and *Lambert* the ſword before him. His Highneſs was ſeated over-againſt the pulpit, and the members of parliament plac'd themſelves on both ſides of him. After the ſermon, which was preach'd by Mr. *Tho. Goodwin*, his Highneſs went in the ſame equipage to the *Painted Chamber*; where being ſeated in a chair of ſtate ſet upon ſteps, the members ſitting upon benches round about, all bare, his Highneſs put off his hat, and made a long and ſubtle ſpeech to them, which was in ſubſtance as follows:

His ſpeech to the members.

He told them, "the danger of the *Levelling* "principles, and of the *Fifth-monarchy* opinions, "of the *form of godlineſs*, and the great judgment "that had been upon this nation by ten years civil "war. That the two pretenſions, *liberty of the* "*ſubject*, and *liberty of conſcience* (two as glorious "things, and as much to be contended for, as any "gift God hath given us,) were brought in to patronize thoſe evils. Nay, theſe abominations "ſwelled to that height, that the axe was laid to "the root of the miniſtry, as *Babyloniſh* and *Anti-*"*chriſtian*: And as the extremity was great be-"fore, ſo that no man, tho' well approv'd, and "having a good teſtimony, might preach, if not "ordain'd; ſo now, on the other hand, they will "have ordination put a nullity upon the calling.

"I conceive in my very ſoul, *ſaid he*, that ma-"ny of the *Fifth-monarchy* opinion have good "meanings; and I hope this parliament will (as "*Jude* ſays, reckoning up the abominable apoſta-"cies of the laſt times) pluck ſome out of the "fire, and ſave others with fear; making thoſe "of peaceable ſpirits, the ſubjects of their encou-"ragement, and ſaving others by that diſcipline "that God hath ordain'd to reform miſcarriages: "The danger of that ſpirit being not in the no-"tion, but in its proceeding to a civil tranſgreſ-"ſion; when men come into ſuch a practice, as

"to

" to tell us, that liberty and property are not the 1654.
" bodies of that kingdom, and that inſtead of re-
" gulating laws, laws muſt be ſubverted, and per-
" haps the judicial law impoſed, or ſome fancy
" inſtead of it (for that was good and honourable
" in the inſtitution, tho' now by ſome miſapply'd;)
" eſpecially when every ſtone is turn'd to bring in
" confuſion; this will be a conſideration worthy of
" the magiſtrate.

" WHILST theſe things were in the midſt of
" us, and the nation rent and torn from one end
" to the other; family againſt family, parent a-
" gainſt child, and nothing in the hearts and minds
" of men, but *Overturn*, *Overturn*, (a ſcripture
" very much abus'd and challeng'd by all men of
" diſcontented ſpirits;) that common enemy in
" the mean time ſleeps not; ſwarms of *Jeſuits*
" come over, and have their conſiſtories abroad,
" to rule all the affairs of *England*, and the depen-
" dencies thereof: In the mean time viſible en-
" deavours were us'd to hinder the work in *Ireland*,
" to obſtruct the work in *Scotland*; correſponden-
" cies and intelligences were held to encourage the
" war in thoſe places.

" AND withal, we were deeply engag'd in a
" war with *Portugal*, whereby our trade ceas'd;
" and not only ſo, but a war with *Holland*, which
" conſum'd our treaſure, as much as the aſſeſſment
" came to. At the ſame time we fell into a war
" with *France*, or rather we were in it; and all
" this fomented by the diviſions amongſt us, which
" begat a confidence, we could not hold out long;
" and the calculation had not been ill, if the Lord
" had not been gracious to us. Beſides, ſtrangers
" increaſed in the manufacture, the great ſtaple
" commodity of this nation.

" IN ſuch an heap of confuſion was this poor
" nation; and that it might not ſink into a con-
" fuſion from the premiſes, a remedy muſt be ap-

1654. " plied: A remedy hath been applied, *This go-*
" *vernment*. A thing that is ſeen and read of all,
" and which (let men ſay what they will, I can
" ſpeak with comfort before a greater than you all,
" as to my intention; and let men judge out of
" the thing itſelf) is calculated for the intereſt of
" the people, for their intereſt alone, and for their
" good, without reſpect had to any other intereſt.

" I may, with humbleneſs towards God, and
" modeſty before you, ſay ſomething in the behalf
" of it.

" It hath endeavour'd to reform the laws, and
" for that end hath join'd perſons (without refle-
" ction upon any) of as great integrity and ability
" as any other, to conſider how the laws might
" be made plain, ſhort and eaſy; which may in
" due time be tendered.

" It hath taken care to put into ſeats of juſtice,
" men of the moſt known integrity and ability.

" The *chancery* hath been reform'd, and I
" hope to the juſt ſatisfaction of all good men.

" It hath put a ſtop to that heady way, for
" every man that will, to make himſelf a preacher,
" having endeavour'd to ſettle a way for approba-
" tion of men of piety and fitneſs for the work,
" and the buſineſs committed to perſons both of
" the *Preſbyterian* and *Independent* judgment; men
" of as known ability and integrity, as (I ſuppoſe)
" any the nation hath, and who (I believe) have
" labour'd to approve themſelves to God and their
" own conſciences, in approving men to that great
" function.

" It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for
" that work, who have been the common ſcorn
" and reproach to that adminiſtration.

" One thing more: It hath been inſtrumental
" to call a free parliament; bleſſed be God, we
" ſee here this day a free parliament; and that it
" may continue ſo, I hope is in the heart of every

" good

" good man of *England*: For my own part, as I " deſir'd it above my life, ſo to keep it free, I " ſhall value it above my life. 1654.

" A PEACE is made with *Sweden*, (wherein an " honourable perſon [meaning *Whitelock*] was in- " ſtrumental) it being of much importance to have " a good underſtanding with our *Proteſtant* neigh- " bours.

A PEACE is alſo made with the *Danes*, and a " peace there that is honourable, and to the ſatis- " faction of the merchants.

" THE *Sound* is open to us, from whence, as " from a fountain, our naval proviſions are ſup- " plied.

" A PEACE is made with the *Dutch*, which is " ſo well known in the conſequences of it, and " the great advantages of a good underſtanding " with *Proteſtant* ſtates.

" I BEG that it may be in your hearts to be " zealous of the *Proteſtant* intereſt abroad, which " if ever it be like to come under a condition of " ſuffering, it is now; many being baniſh'd, and " driven to ſeek refuge among ſtrangers.

" A PEACE is made with *Portugal*, (though it " hung long) of great concernment to trade; and " the people that trade thither, have freedom to " enjoy their conſciences, without being ſubjected " to the bloody inquiſition.

" A TREATY with *France* likewiſe is now de- " pending.

" IT may be neceſſary, in the next place, for " you to hear a little of the ſea affairs, and to " take notice of the great expence of the forces " and fleet; and yet 30,000 *l.* is now abated of " the next three months aſſeſſment.

" THESE things, which I have before men- " tioned, are but entrances, and doors of hope; " you are brought to the edge of *Canaan* (into " which many that have gone before could not

1654. " enter) but if the bleſſing and preſence of God go " along with you in the management of your af- " fairs, I make no queſtion but he will enable you " to lay the top-ſtone of this work.

" BUT this is a maxim not to be deſpiſed, *Tho'* " *peace be made, yet it is intereſt that keeps peace,* " *and farther than that, peace is not to be truſted.*

" THE great end of calling this parliament, is, " that the work of God may go on, that the ſhip " of this commonwealth may be brought into a " ſafe harbour.

" I ſhall put you in mind, that you have a " great work upon you; *Ireland* to look to, that " the beginning of that government may be ſet- " tled in honour.

" THAT you have before you, the conſidera- " tion of thoſe foreign ſtates, with whom peace " is not made; who, if they ſee we manage not " our affairs with prudence, as becomes men, will " retain hopes, that we may ſtill, under the diſad- " vantages thereof, break into confuſion.

" I SHALL conclude with my perſuaſion to you, " to have a ſweet, gracious, and holy underſtand- " ing one of another, and put you in mind of the " counſel you heard this day in order thereunto.

" AND I deſire you to believe, that I ſpeak " not to you, as one that would be a Lord over " you, but as one that is reſolved to be a fellow " ſervant with you to the intereſt of this great af- " fair."

THEN he wiſh'd them to repair to their houſe, and exerciſe their own liberty in the choice of their ſpeaker.

They chuſe *Lenthal* their ſpeaker, and debate on the *inſtrument of government.*

BEING come to the parliament-houſe, they almoſt unanimouſly made choice of the old ſpeaker Mr. *William Lenthal*, maſter of the *Rolls*, to be their ſpeaker. This done, they preſently took the Protector's *inſtrument of government* into conſideration; and the firſt debate they fell upon, was, *Whether*

ther the ſupreme legiſlative power of the nation ſhould be in a ſingle perſon, and a parliament. And here many warm ſpeeches were made in direct oppoſition to a ſingle perſon; and one ſaid, "That "they could not but diſcern the ſnares laid to en- "trap the people's privileges; and for his own "part, as God had made him inſtrumental in cut- "ting down tyranny in one perſon, ſo he could "not endure to ſee the nation's liberties ſhackled "by another, whoſe right to the government "could be meaſur'd out no other ways than by "the length of his ſword, which was only that "which emboldened him to command his com- "manders." Theſe debates continued for ſeven or eight days together, to the great grief of the Protectorians, who to ſave themſelves were neceſſitated to find means for protracting time, and adjourning the houſe, when the queſtion was ready to be put, becauſe they plainly ſaw it would be carry'd in the negative. 1654.

The Protector diſpleas'd.

His Highneſs being inform'd of theſe proceedings, and fearing to have that great queſtion put, leſt he ſhould be depos'd by a vote of this aſſembly, on the 12th of *September* early in the morning, caus'd a guard to be plac'd at the door of the houſe, and ſent to the lord-mayor to acquaint him with the reaſons of what he was about to do, that he might prevent any diſorder in the city. The members coming at the uſual hour, were deny'd entrance, and commanded to attend the Lord Protector, in the *Painted Chamber*; where he ſpoke to them as follows:

Makes another ſpeech to them.

He told them, "That when he met them a "few days ſince, and deliver'd his mind unto "them, he did it with much more hopes and "comfort than now; and that he was very ſorry "to find them falling into heats and diviſions. "He repreſented to them the miſcarriages of the "*long parliament*, and declar'd, That he had of-

1654. " ten preſs'd that aſſembly, as a member, to put " a period to themſelves, telling them, *That the* " *nation loath'd their ſitting*; and when they were " diſſolved, there was no viſible repining at it, " *no not ſo much as the barking of a dog.* He " ſhewed them, by what means he came to the " government, together with the conſent that the " people had many ways given thereunto; and " ſaid, that the other day when he told them *they* " *were a free parliament*, he did alſo conſider, there " was a *Reciprocation:* For that the ſame govern- " ment, which made them a parliament, made him " Protector; and as they were entruſted with ſome " things, ſo he was with others. That there were " ſome things in the government *fundamental*, " which could not be alter'd; as, 1. *That the go-* " *vernment ſhould be in one perſon and a parliament.* " 2. *That parliaments ſhould not be made perpetual*; " which would deprive the people of their ſuc- " ceſſive elections: *Nor that the parliament ſhould be* " *always ſitting*, that is, as ſoon as one parliament " is up, another ſhould come and ſit in their " places the very next day; which could not be " without ſubjecting the nation to an arbitrary " power in governing, becauſe parliaments, when " they ſit, are abſolute and unlimited. The third " fundamental was in the matter of the *militia:* " For in order to prevent the two aforemention'd " inconveniencies, the militia *was not to be en-* " *truſted in any one hand or power*, but to be ſo " diſpoſed, that as the *parliament* ought to have a " check upon the Protector, to prevent exceſſes in " him; ſo on the other hand, the Protector might " have a check upon the *parliament*, to prevent " exceſſes in them; becauſe if the *militia* were " wholly in the *parliament*, they might, when they " would, perpetuate themſelves: But now the " *militia* being diſpoſed as it is, the one ſtands as " a counterpoize to the other; which renders the " balance of government the more even, and the

" govern-

" government itſelf the more firm and ſtable. 1654.
" The fourth fundamental in the government,
" was about *a due liberty of conſcience in matters of*
" *religion*; wherein bounds and limits ought to be
" ſet, ſo as *to prevent perſecution.* That the reſt
" of the things in the government were examin-
" able, and alterable, as the occaſion and the ſtate
" of affairs ſhould require. That as for a *negative*
" *voice*, he claimed it not, ſave only in the afore-
" ſaid particulars. That in all other things he
" had only a deliberative power; and if he did
" not paſs ſuch laws as were preſented to him,
" within twenty days after their preſentment,
" they were to be laws without his conſent.
" Therefore, things being thus, he was ſorry to
" underſtand that any of them ſhould go about to
" overthrow what was ſo ſettled, contrary to
" their truſt received from the people; which
" could not but bring on very great inconveni-
" encies: To prevent which, he was neceſſitated
" to appoint a *teſt*, or *recognition*, of the go-
" vernment, which was to be ſign'd by them, be-
" fore they went any more into the houſe."

He appoints them a teſt.

THE ſaid *teſt* or *recognition* was in theſe words: *I* A. B. *do hereby freely promiſe and engage myſelf to be true and faithful to the* Lord Protector *and the commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *and ſhall not (according to the tenour of the* indenture, *whereby I am returned to ſerve in this preſent parliament) propoſe, or give any conſent to alter the government, as it is ſettled in* one ſingle perſon, *and a* parliament.

Which is ſubſcribed by ſeveral members.

THIS being ingroſs'd in parchment, was laid on a table near the door of the houſe, for the members to ſubſcribe before they ſhould be qualify'd to ſit. Accordingly, within a day or two, it was ſigned by about an hundred and thirty of them, and ſome days after by above as many more, who thereupon took their places in the houſe.

'Tis

1654. 'Tis ſaid, that thoſe who refus'd to ſubſcribe this *engagement*, were not only excluded, but ſome of them taken into cuſtody. Major-general *Harriſon*, the Protector's late great favourite, was now ſecur'd by a party of horſe, by his Highneſs's order; and colonel *Rich*, Mr. *Carew*, and others, being ſummoned before the council, were requir'd to ſurrender their commiſſions; and becauſe they refus'd to engage not to act againſt the Lord Protector and his government, they were committed to priſon.

Their declaration thereupon.

A DEBATE ariſing in the houſe concerning the *Recognition*, it was thereupon declar'd, "That "it ſhould not be intended to comprehend the "whole, contained in the forty-two articles of "the *inſtrument of government*, but only that which "requir'd the government of the commonwealth "to be by a ſingle perſon, and ſucceſſive parliaments." The great point concerning the *ſingle perſon* being over-rul'd, the houſe apply'd themſelves to the conſideration and debate of the remaining clauſes of the *inſtrument of government*. They declar'd, "That *Oliver Cromwell* ſhould be "Protector during life; and limited the number "of forces to be kept up in *England*, *Scotland*, and "*Ireland*, with proviſion for the payment of them. "They agreed upon the number of ſhips, that "they thought neceſſary for the guard of the "ſeas; and order'd two hundred thouſand pounds "a year for the Protector's own expence, the ſalaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambaſſadors; and "that *Whitehall*, *St. James's*, the *Mews*, *Somerſet-houſe*, *Greenwich*, *Hampton-Court*, *Windſor*, and the manor of *York*, be kept unſold "for the Protector's uſe. They alſo voted a "clauſe to be inſerted, to declare the rights of the "people of *England*, and particularly, that no "money ſhould be raiſed upon the nation, but by "autho-

They debate the remaining articles of government.

" authority of parliament. And whereas by the 1654.
" *inſtrument of government* it was provided, that if
" the parliament were not ſitting at the death of
" the preſent Protector, the council ſhould chuſe
" a ſucceſſor; they reſolv'd, that nothing ſhould
" be determin'd by the council after his death,
" but the calling of a parliament, who were then
" to conſider what they would have done. They
" alſo approv'd and confirm'd the preſent Lord
" Deputy of *Ireland*, the preſent Lords Commiſ-
" ſioners of the great ſeal of *England*, the com-
" miſſioners of the treaſury, and the two chief
" juſtices. Among other things, they debated
" the point of *liberty of conſcience* upon the new
" government, and agreed to allow it to all, *who*
" *ſhall not maintain Atheiſm, Popery, Prelacy, Pro-*
" *faneneſs, or any* damnable Hereſies, *to be enume-*
" *rated by the parliament.*"

THIS highly pleaſed ſome men; and it is obſervable, that during theſe debates, the miniſters were ſo forward and zealous, that they propos'd ſeveral *fundamentals* in religion (*viz.* their own belov'd opinions) to the parliament to be eſtabliſhed by them. Theſe debates upon the government continued for ſome months, in which time alſo the houſe took a tranſient view of the Protector's own ordinances; particularly, one for paying the money into the treaſury, rais'd for the propagation of the Goſpel in *Wales*: Another, to make ſoldiers free in corporations: Another to remove all ſcandalous preachers and miniſters; and a fourth for the ſurveying of King's and Churches lands. And having gone through the *inſtrument of government*, they paſs'd this additional vote, *That no one clauſe, of what they had agreed upon, ſhould be look'd upon as binding, unleſs the whole were conſented to.*

DURING theſe debates in parliament, an odd accident happened to the Protector, which very much endanger'd his life. He having taken upon himſelf

A private accident to the Protector.

1654. himſelf the whole government of the nation, and ſent amboſſadors and agents to foreign kingdoms and ſtates, was again very much courted by them, and preſented with the rarities of ſeveral countries; and the Duke of *Holſtein* among the reſt made him a preſent of a gallant ſet of grey *Friezeland* coach-horſes. With theſe he had a mind to take the air in the *Park*, attended only with his ſecretary *Thurloe* and his guards. Being come into the *Park*, he would needs take the place of the coach-man; and ſo mounting the box, he began to laſh and drive them on very furiouſly: But the horſes not us'd to ſuch rough management, ran away with full ſpeed, and never ſtopp'd, till their driver was thrown with great violence out of the box; with which fall his piſtol fir'd in his pocket, though he had the good fortune to receive no hurt.

The parliament not for his purpoſe.

In the debates upon the government, many things were ſaid, which gave great offence to the Protector and his council, and made it plainly appear, that the parliament were not inclinable to anſwer their whole deſire and expectation, and fall in with all they deſign'd: Hereupon he grew very uneaſy, till the five months allow'd for their ſitting, by his own *inſtrument of government*, ſhould be expir'd. And though the form of government, which they had agreed to, differ'd not in any material point, from that which himſelf had ſet up, unleſs it were in reſerving the nomination of his ſucceſſor to the parliament; yet this one thing was thought very diſagreeable to him, and ſome of his council. However, the diſſolution of this aſſembly was, after much debate in council, reſolv'd on; and ſo the five months of their ſeſſion, according to the ſoldiers account of twenty-eight days to the month, were no ſooner ended, but the members on the 22d of *January* were requir'd to attend him in the *Painted-chamber*, where he diſſolved them with this moſt tedious and intricate ſpeech.

Gen-

1654.

He makes a ſpeech, and diſſolves them.

" GENTLEMEN, I perceive you are here as " the *houſe of parliament*, by your ſpeaker, whom " I ſee here, and by your faces, which are, in a " great meaſure, known to me.

" WHEN I firſt met you in this room, it was " to my apprehenſion the hopefulleſt day that e- " ver mine eyes ſaw, as to the conſiderations of " this world: For I did look at (as wrapt up in " you, together with myſelf) the hopes and the " happineſs of (tho' not of the greateſt, yet a ve- " ry great, and) the beſt people in the world; " and truly and unfeignedly I thought ſo; as a " people that have the higheſt and cleareſt profeſ- " ſion amongſt them of the greateſt glory (to wit) " religion; as a people that have been like other " nations, ſometimes up and ſometimes down, in " our honour in the world, and yet never ſo low, " but we might meaſure with other nations; and " a people that have had a ſtamp upon them from " God, God having (as it were) ſummed all our " former glory and honour, in the things that are " of glory to nations, in an *Epitome*, within theſe " ten or twelve years laſt paſt; ſo that we knew " one another at home, and are well known a- " broad.

" AND (if I be not very much miſtaken) we " were arriv'd (as I, and truly, as I believe, ma- " ny others did think) at a very ſafe port, where " we might ſit down, and contemplate the diſpen- " ſations of God, and our mercies not to have " been like to thoſe of the antients, who did make " out their peace and proſperity, as they thought, " by their own endeavours; who could not ſay, " as we, that all ours were let down to us from " God himſelf, whoſe appearances and providences " amongſt us are not to be out-match'd in any " ſtory.

" TRULY this was our condition, and I know " nothing elſe we had to do, ſave as *Iſrael* was

" com-

1654. " commanded, in that moſt excellent *Pſalm* of
" *David*, Pſalm lxxviii. *ver.* 4, 5, 6, 7. *The things*
" *which we have heard and known, and our fathers*
" *have told us, we will not hide them from their*
" *children, ſhewing to the generation to come the*
" *praiſe of the Lord, and his ſtrength, and his won-*
" *derful works which he hath done; for he eſtabliſh'd*
" *a teſtimony in* Jacob, *and appointed a law in* Iſrael,
" *which he commanded our fathers that they ſhould*
" *make them known to their children, that the gene-*
" *ration to come might know them, even the children*
" *that ſhould be born, who ſhould ariſe and declare*
" *them to their children, that they might ſet their*
" *hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but*
" *keep his commandments.*

" This, I thought, had been a ſong and a work
" worthy of *England*, whereunto you might have
" happily invited them, had you had hearts un-
" to it.

" You had this opportunity fairly deliver'd un-
" to you; and if a *hiſtory* ſhall be written of theſe
" times, and of tranſactions, it will be ſaid (it will
" not be denied) but that theſe things I have ſpo-
" ken are true.

" This *Talent* was put into your hands, and I
" ſhall recur to that which I ſaid at the firſt: I
" came with very great joy, and contentment, and
" comfort, the firſt time I met you in this place;
" but we and theſe nations are, for the preſent,
" under ſome diſappointment. If I had purpos'd
" to have play'd the orator, which I did never
" affect, nor do, nor I hope ſhall, I doubt not but
" upon eaſy ſuppoſitions, which I am perſuaded
" every one of you will grant, we did meet upon
" ſuch hopes as theſe.

" I met you a ſecond time here, and I confeſs
" at that meeting I had much abatement of my
" hopes, tho' not a total fruſtration. I confeſs,
" that that which dampt my hopes ſo ſoon, was

" ſome-

" ſomewhat that did look like a *paricide*. It is 1654.
" obvious enough unto you, tnat the management
" of affairs did favour of a *not-owning*, too too
" much favour, I ſay, of a *not-owning* the *authority*
" that *called* you hither; but God left us not with-
" out an expedient, that gave a ſecond *poſſibility*.
" Shall I ſay a *poſſibility?* It ſeemed to me a *pro-*
" *bability* of recovering out of that *diſſatisfied con-*
" *dition* we were all then in, towards ſome mu-
" tuality of *ſatisfaction*; and therefore by that *re-*
" *cognition* ſuiting with the *indenture* that return'd
" you hither, to which afterwards alſo was added
" your own declaration, conformable to, and in
" acceptance of that expedient; whereby you had
" (tho' with a little check) another opportunity
" renew'd unto you, to have made this nation as
" happy as it could have been, if every thing
" had ſmoothly run on from the firſt hour of your
" meeting.

" AND indeed (you will give me liberty of my
" thoughts and hopes) I did think, as I have for-
" merly found in that way that I have been enga-
" ged as a ſoldier, that ſome affronts put upon
" us, ſome diſaſters at the firſt have made way for
" very great and happy ſucceſſes.

" AND I did not at all *deſpond*, but the *ſtop* put
" upon you, would in like manner have made
" way for a bleſſing from God, that that *Inter-*
" *ruption* being as I thought, neceſſary to divert
" you from deſtructive and violent proceedings,
" to give time for better deliberations; whereby
" leaving the government as you found it, you
" might have proceeded to have made thoſe good
" and wholeſome *laws* which the people expected
" from you; and might have anſwerd the *grie-*
" *vances* and ſettled thoſe other things proper to
" you as a *parliament*, and for which you would
" have had thanks from all that intruſted you.

" WHAT

1654. "WHAT hath happen'd ſince that time, I "have not taken publick notice of, as declining "to intrench upon *parliament privileges*; for ſure "I am, you will all bear me witneſs that from "your entering into the *houſe* upon the *Recogni-* "*tion*, to this very day, you have had no manner "of *interruption* or hindrance of mine, in pro- "ceeding to that bleſſed iſſue the heart of a good "man could propoſe to himſelf, to this very day.

"YOU ſee you have me very much lock'd up, "as to what you tranſacted among yourſelves, "from that time to this; but ſomething I ſhall "take liberty to ſpeak of to you. As I may not "take notice what you have been doing, ſo I think "I have very great liberty to tell you that I do not "know what you have been *doing:* I do not know "whether you have been alive or dead: I have "not once *heard* from you in all this time; I have "not, and that you all know: If that be a fault that "I have not, ſurely it hath not been mine.

"IF I have had any *melancholy thoughts*, and "have ſat down by them, why might it not have "been very lawful to me, to think that I was a "*perſon* judg'd *unconcern'd* in all theſe buſineſſes? "I can aſſure you, I have not reckon'd myſelf, "nor did I reckon myſelf *unconcern'd* in you; and "ſo long as any *juſt patience* could ſupport my ex- "pectation, I would have waited to the uttermoſt "to have receiv'd from you, the iſſues of your "*conſultations* aad *reſolutions*; I have been careful "of your *ſafety*, and the ſafety of thoſe that you re- "preſented, to whom I reckon myſelf a ſervant.

"BUT what meſſages have I diſturb'd you with- "al? What *injury* or *indignity* hath been done or "offer'd, either to your perſons, or to any pri- "vileges of *parliament*, ſince you ſat? I look at "myſelf as ſtrictly oblig'd by my *oath*, ſince your "recognizing the government, in the *authority* of "which you were call'd hither, and ſat, to give

"you

" you all poſſible ſecurity, and to keep you from 1654.
" any unparliamentary *interruption*.

" THINK you I could not ſay more upon this " ſubject, if I liſted to expatiate thereupon? But " becauſe my actions plead for me, I ſhall ſay no " more of this.

" I SAY, I have been caring for you, your quiet " ſitting, caring for your privileges (as I ſaid be- " fore) that they might not be *interrupted*; have " been ſeeking of God, from the great God, a " *bleſſing* upon you, and a *bleſſing* upon theſe na- " tions; I have been conſulting, if poſſibly I " might in any thing promote, in my place, the " real good of this *parliament*, of the hopefulneſs " of which I have ſaid ſo much unto you.

" AND I did think it to be my buſineſs, rather " to ſee the utmoſt iſſue, and what God would " produce by you, than unſeaſonably to intermed- " dle with you. But, as I ſaid before, I have been " caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of " the nations, indeed I have, and that I ſhall a lit- " tle preſently manifeſt unto you.

" AND it leadeth me to let you know ſome- " what that I fear, I fear will be thro' ſome in- " terpretation, a little too juſtly put upon you, " whilſt you have been employ'd as you have been " (and in all that time expreſſed in the govern- " ment, in that government, I ſay, in that govern- " ment) brought forth nothing that you yourſelves " can be taken notice of without *infringement* of " your *privileges*.

" I will tell you ſomewhat, that (if it be not " news to you) I wiſh you had taken very ſerious " conſideration of; if it be *news*, I wiſh I had ac- " quainted you with it ſooner; and yet if any " man will aſk me why I did not, the reaſon is " given already, becauſe I did make it my buſi- " neſs to give no interruption.

1654. " THERE be ſome *trees* that will not *grow* un-
" der the ſhadow of other *trees*; there be ſome
" that chuſe (a man may ſay ſo by way of allu-
" ſion) to thrive under the *ſhadow* of other *trees*;
" I will tell you what hath *thriven*, I will not ſay
" what you have *cheriſh'd* under your *ſhadow*, that
" were too hard. Inſtead of the peace and *ſettle-*
" *ment*, inſtead of *mercy* and *truth* being brought
" together, *righteouſneſs and peace kiſſing each other*,
" by reconciling the honeſt people of theſe na-
" tions, and ſettling the woful diſtempers that are
" amongſt us (which had been glorious things,
" and worthy of Chriſtians to have propos'd)
" *weeds* and *nettles*, *briars* and *thorns* have *thriven*
" under your *ſhadow*. Diſſettlement and diviſions,
" diſcontentment and diſſatisfaction, together with
" real dangers to the whole, has been more mul-
" tiplied within theſe *five months* of your ſitting,
" than in ſome years before.

" FOUNDATIONS have been alſo laid for the
" future renewing the *troubles* of theſe nations, by
" all the enemies of it *abroad* and at *home*; let not
" theſe words ſeem too ſharp, for they are true,
" as any *mathematical demonſtrations* are or can be;
" I ſay, the enemies of the peace of theſe nations
" abroad and at home, the diſcontented humours
" throughout theſe nations, which I think no man
" will grudge to call by that name, or to make to
" allude to *briars* and *thorns*, they have nouriſh'd
" themſelves under your *ſhadow*.

" AND that I may be clearly underſtood, they
" have taken the opportunities from your *ſitting*,
" from the hopes they had, which with eaſy con-
" jecture they might take up, and conclude, that
" there would be no *ſettlement*, and therefore they
" have framed their *deſigns*, preparing for the ex-
" ecution of them accordingly.

Now whether (which appertains not to me
" to judge of on their behalf) they had any occa-

" ſion

" ſion miniſter'd for this, and from whence they 1654.
" had it, I liſt not to make any ſcrutiny or ſearch;
" but I will ſay this, I think they had them not
" from me, I am ſure they had not; from whence
" they had it, is not my buſineſs now to diſ-
" courſe, but that they had, is obvious to every
" man's ſenſe.

" WHAT preparations they have made to *exe-*
" *cute* in ſuch a ſeaſon as they thought fit to take
" their opportunity from. that I know (not as men
" know things by conjecture, but) by certain de-
" monſtrable knowledge, that they have been (for
" ſome time paſt) furniſhing themſelves with *arms*,
" nothing doubting but that they ſhould have a
" *day* for it, and verily believing that whatſoever
" their former *diſappointments* were, they ſhould
" have more done for them, by and from our own
" *diviſions*, than they were able to do for them-
" ſelves. I doubt not, and I deſire to be underſtood
" ſo, that in all I have to ſay on this ſubject, you
" will take it that I have no reſervation in my
" mind to mingle things of *gueſs* and *ſuſpicion*
" with things of *fact*, but the things I am telling
" are *fact*, things of evident *demonſtration*.

" THESE *weeds*, *briars* and *thorns*, they have
" been preparing, and have brought their *deſigns*
" to ſome maturity, by the advantages given to
" them, as aforeſaid, from your *ſitting* and *proceed-*
" *ings*; but by the *waking eye* that watched over
" that *cauſe* that God will bleſs, they have been
" and yet are *diſappointed*. And having mention'd
" that *cauſe*, I ſay, that *ſlighted cauſe*, let me ſpeak
" a few words in behalf thereof (tho' it may ſeem
" too long a digreſſion:) Whoſoever deſpiſeth it,
" and will ſay it is *Non cauſa pro cauſa*, the all-
" ſearching eye before mention'd will find out
" that man, and will judge him, as one that re-
" gardeth not the *works* of God, nor the *opera-*
" *tions* of his hands, for which God hath threaten'd

1654. " that he will caſt men down, and not build them
" up; that becauſe he can diſpute, and tell us,
" he knew not where the *cauſe* begun, or where
" it is, but modelleth it according to his own in-
" tellect, and ſubmits not to the *appearances* of
" God in the world, therefore he lifts up his heel
" againſt God, and mocketh at all his providences,
" laughing at the obſervations made up not with-
" out *reaſon* and the *ſcriptures*, but by the quick-
" ening and teaching *ſpirit*, which gives life to
" the other, calling ſuch *obſervations* enthuſiaſms.
" Such men, I ſay, no wonder if they ſtumble
" and fall backward, and be broken, and ſnared,
" and taken, by the things of which they are ſo
" maliciouſly and wilfully ignorant. The *ſcrip-*
" *tures* ſay, The rod hath a voice, and he will
" make himſelf known, and he will make himſelf
" known by the judgments which he executeth;
" and do we not think he will, and does by the
" providences of mercy and kindneſs which he
" hath for his people, and for their juſt liberties,
" *whom he loves as the apple of his eye?* Doth he
" not by them manifeſt himſelf? And is he not
" thereby alſo ſeen, giving *kingdoms* for them, giv-
" ing *men* for them, and *people* for their lives? as
" it is in the 43d of *Iſaiah*. Is not this as fair a
" lecture, and as clear ſpeaking, as any thing our
" dark reaſon left to the letter of the *ſcriptures*,
" can collect from them. By this *voice* has God
" ſpoken very loud on the behalf of his people, by
" *judging* their enemies in the late war, and reſto-
" ring them a *liberty* to worſhip with the freedom
" of their *conſciences*, and freedom in their *eſtates*
" and *perſons*, when they do ſo. And thus we have
" found the *cauſe* of God by the *works* of God,
" which are the *teſtimony* of God, upon which *rock*
" whoſoever *ſplits*, ſhall ſuffer ſhipwreck.

" But it is our *glory*, and it is *mine*, if I have
" any in the world, concerning the *intereſt* of thoſe

" that

" that have an *intereſt* in a better world: It is my 1654.
" *glory*, that I know a *cauſe*, which yet we have
" not loſt, but do hope we ſhall take a little plea-
" ſure rather to loſe our *lives* than loſe. But you
" will excuſe this long digreſſion.

" I ſay unto you, whilſt you have been in the
" midſt of theſe *tranſactions*, that *party*, that *cava-*
" *lier party* (I could wiſh ſome of them had thruſt
" in here to have heard what I ſay) the *cavalier*
" *party* have been *deſigning* and *preparing* to put
" this *nation* in blood again with a witneſs; but
" becauſe I am confident there are none of that
" ſort here, therefore I ſhall ſay the leſs to that;
" only this I muſt tell you, they have been making
" great preparations of *arms*, and I do believe, will
" be made evident to you, that they have raked
" out many thouſands of *arms*, even all that this
" city could afford, for divers months laſt paſt.

" BUT it will be ſaid, May we not arm our-
" ſelves for the defence of our houſes? Will any
" body find fault for that? No, for that, the rea-
" ſon of their doing ſo hath been as explicit, and
" under as clear proof, as the fact of doing ſo, for
" which I hope, by the *juſtice* of the land, ſome
" will, in the face of the nation, *anſwer* it with
" their lives, and then the buſineſs will be pretty
" well out of doubt.

" BANKS of *money* have been framing for theſe,
" and other ſuch like uſes; *letters* have been iſſued
" with *privy ſeals*, to as great perſons as moſt are
" in the nation, for the advance of monies, which
" have been *diſcover'd* to us by the perſons them-
" ſelves; commiſſions for *regiments of horſe and*
" *foot*, and *command of caſtles*, have been likewiſe
" given from *Charles Stuart*, ſince your *ſitting*;
" and what the general inſolences of that party
" have been, the honeſt people have been ſenſible
" of, and can very well teſtify.

1654. "IT hath not been only thus; but as in a *quinzy* or *pluriſy*, where the humour fixeth in one "part, give it ſcope, it will gather to that place, "to the hazarding of the whole; and it is natural "to do ſo, till it deſtroy nature, in that *perſon* on "whomſoever this befals.

"So likewiſe will thoſe diſeaſes take accidental "cauſes of aggravation of their diſtemper; and "this was that which I did aſſert, that they have "taken accidental cauſes, for the growing and in-"creaſing of thoſe diſtempers, as much as would "have been in the natural body, if timely remedy "were not applied. And indeed, things were "come to that paſs (in reſpect of which I ſhall "give you a particular account) that no mortal "phyſician, if the great phyſician had not ſtept "in, could have cured the diſtemper.

"SHALL I lay this upon your account, or my "own? I am ſure I can lay it upon God's ac-"count, that if he had not ſtept in, the diſeaſe "had been mortal and deſtructive; and what is "all this? Truly I muſt needs ſay, a company of "men, ſtill like briars and thorns, and worſe, if "worſe can be, of another ſort than thoſe before "mention'd to you, have been, and yet are, en-"deavouring to put us into blood, and into con-"fuſion, more deſperate and dangerous confuſion "than *England* ever yet ſaw.

"AND I muſt ſay, as when *Gideon* command-"ed his ſon to fall upon *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, and "ſlay them, they thought it more noble to die by "the hand of a man, than of a ſtripling; which "ſhews, there is ſome contentment in the hand "by which a man falls; ſo it is ſome ſatisfaction, "if a commonwealth muſt periſh, that it periſh by "men, and not by the hands of perſons differing "little from beaſts; that if it muſt needs ſuffer, "it ſhould rather ſuffer from rich men, than from "poor men, who, as *Solomon* ſays, when they op-

"preſs,

" preſs, they leave nothing behind them, but are " as ſweeping rain. 1654.

" Now, ſuch as theſe alſo are grown up un- " der your ſhadow. But it will be aſked, what " have they done? I hope, tho' they pretend the " commonwealths intereſt, they have had no en- " couragement from you, but that as before, ra- " ther taken it, than that you have adminiſter'd " any cauſe unto them for ſo doing, from delays, " from hopes that this parliament would not ſet- " tle, from pamphlets, mentioning ſtrange votes " and reſolves of yours, which I hope did abuſe " you. Thus you ſee, whatever the grounds were " theſe have been the effects. And thus I have " laid theſe things before you, and others will be " eaſily able to judge how far you are concern'd.

" AND what have theſe men done? They have " alſo labour'd to pervert where they could, and " as they could, the honeſt meaning people of the " nation; they have labour'd to engage ſome in " the army; and I doubt, that not only they, but " ſome others alſo, very well known to you, have " helped in this work of debauching and dividing " the army; they have, they have; I would be " loth to ſay, who, where, and how, much more " loth to ſay, they were any of your own number, " but I can ſay, endeavours have been us'd to put " the army into a diſtemper, and to feed that " which is the worſt humour in the army, which " tho' it was not a maſtering humour, yet theſe " took their advantage from a delay of the ſettle- " ment, and the practices before mention'd, and " ſtopping to pay off the army, to run us into " free quarter, and to bring us into the inconve- " niencies moſt to be fear'd and avoided.

" WHAT if I am able to make it appear in " fact, that ſome amongſt you have run into the " city of *London* to perſuade to petitions and ad- " dreſſes to you for reverſing your own votes that

1654. " you have paſſed? Whether theſe practices were
" in favour of your liberties, or tended to beget
" hopes of peace and ſettlement from you; and
" whether debauching the army in *England*, as is
" before expreſſed, and ſtarving it, and putting it
" upon free quarter, and occaſioning and neceſſi-
" tating the greateſt part thereof in *Scotland*, to
" march into *England*, leaving the remainder
" thereof to have their throats cut there, and
" kindling by the reſt a fire in our own boſoms,
" were for the advantage of affairs here, let the
" world judge.

" THIS I tell you alſo, that the correſpondency
" held with the intereſt of cavaliers, by that
" party of men, called *Levellers*, and who call
" themſelves *commonwealth's-men*; whoſe declara-
" tions were framed to that purpoſe, and ready
" to be publiſhed at the time of their common
" riſing, whereof we are poſſeſſed; and for which
" we have the confeſſion of themſelves now in
" cuſtody; who confeſs alſo they built their hopes
" upon the aſſurance they had of the parliament's
" not agreeing to a ſettlement; whether theſe
" humours have not nouriſhed themſelves under
" your boughs, is the ſubject of my preſent diſ-
" courſe, and I think I ſay not amiſs if I affirm
" it to be ſo.

" AND I muſt ſay it again, that that which
" hath been their advantage, thus to raiſe diſtur-
" bance, hath been by the loſs of thoſe golden
" opportunities, that God had put into your hands
" for ſettlement. Judge you whether theſe things
" were thus or no; when you firſt ſat down I am
" ſure things were not thus; there was very great
" peace and ſedateneſs throughout theſe nations,
" and great expectations of a ſettlement, which I
" remember'd to you at the beginning of my
" ſpeech, and hoped that you would have entered
" upon your buſineſs as you found it.

" THERE

1654.

" THERE was a government in the poſſeſſion " of the people, I ſay a government in the poſ- " ſeſſion of the people, for many months, it hath " now been exerciſed near fifteen months; and if " it were needful that I ſhould tell you how it " came into their poſſeſſion, and how willingly " they received it; how all law and juſtice were " diſtributed from it, in every reſpect, as to life, " liberty and eſtate; how it was owned by God, " as being the diſpenſation of his providence af- " ter twelve years war, and ſealed and witneſſed " unto by the people; I ſhould but repeat what I " ſaid in my laſt ſpeech made unto you in this " place, and therefore I forbear.

" WHEN you were enter'd upon this govern- " ment, raveling into it (you know I took no no- " tice what you were doing) if you had gone " upon that foot of account, to have made ſuch " good and wholeſome proviſions for the good of " the people of theſe nations, for the ſettling of " ſuch matters in things of religion as would have " upheld and given countenance to a *godly mini-* " *ſtry*, and yet would have given a juſt *liberty* " *to godly men* of different judgments, men of the " ſame faith with them that you call the *orthodox* " *miniſtry* in *England*, as it is well known the *In-* " *dependants* are, and many under the form of " *Baptiſm*, who are *ſound* in the *Faith*, only may " perhaps be different in judgment in ſome leſſer " matters, yet as true *Chriſtians*, both looking " at ſalvation *only by faith in the blood of Chriſt*, " men profeſſing the fear of God, having recourſe " to the *name* of God, *as to a ſtrong tower*; I ſay, " you might have had *opportunity* to have ſettled " *peace* and *quietneſs* amongſt all profeſſing *godli-* " *neſs*, and might have been inſtrumental, if not " to have *healed* the breaches, yet to have kept " the godly of all judgments from running one " upon another, and by keeping them from being

" over-

1654. " over-run by a common enemy, rendered them
" and theſe nations, both ſecure, happy, and well
" ſatisfied.

" ARE theſe things done? Or any thing to-
" wards them? Is there not yet upon the ſpirits
" of men a ſtrange *itch?* Nothing will ſatisfy
" them, unleſs they can put their fingers upon
" their *brethrens conſciences*, to pinch them there.
" To do this, was no part of the conteſt we had
" with the *common adverſary*; for *Religion* was
" not the thing at the firſt conteſted for; but
" God brought it to that iſſue at laſt, and gave it
" in to us by way of *Redundancy*, and at laſt it
" proved to be that which was moſt dear to us;
" and wherein conſiſted this, more than in obtain-
" ing that *liberty* from the *tyranny* of the *Biſhops*,
" to all *ſpecies* of *Proteſtants*, to worſhip God ac-
" cording to their own *light* and *conſcience?* For
" want of which, many of our *brethren* forſook
" their *native Countries*, to ſeek their *bread* from
" *ſtrangers*, and to live in *howling Wilderneſſes*;
" and for which alſo, many that remained here,
" were *impriſoned*, and otherwiſe *abuſed*, and made
" the ſcorn of the *nation*.

" THOSE that were *ſound in the Faith*, how
" proper was it for them to labour for *liberty*, for
" a juſt *liberty*, that men ſhould not be trampled
" upon for their *conſciences?* Had not they la-
" bour'd but lately under the *weight* of *perſecutions*,
" and was it fit for them to *ſit heavy* upon others?
" Is it ingenuous to aſk liberty, and not to give
" it? What greater hypocriſy, than for thoſe
" who were oppreſſed by the *Biſhops*, to become
" the greateſt *oppreſſors* themſelves, ſo ſoon as
" their yoke was removed? I could wiſh that they,
" who call for *liberty* now alſo, had not too much
" of that *ſpirit* if the power were in their hands.

" As for *profane perſons*, *blaſphemers*, ſuch as
" preach *ſedition*, the *contentious railers*, *evil ſpeak-*
" *ers*,

" *ers*, who ſeek by evil words *to corrupt good* 1654.
" *manners*, perſons of *looſe converſations*; *puniſh-*
" *ment* from the *civil magiſtrate* ought to be meet
" with them; becauſe if theſe pretended conſci-
" ence, yet walking *diſorderly*, and not according,
" but contrary to the *Goſpel* and even to *natural*
" *light*, they are judg'd of all, and their *ſins* be-
" ing open, makes them ſubjects of the *ma-*
" *giſtrate*'s ſword, *who ought not to bear it in*
" *vain*.

" THE *diſcipline* of the *army* was ſuch, that a
" man would not be ſuffered to *remain* there, of
" whom we could take notice he was *guilty* of ſuch
" *practices* as theſe: And therefore how *happy*
" would *England* have been, and you, and I, if
" the Lord had led you on to have ſettled upon
" ſuch good accounts as theſe are, and to have
" *diſcountenanced* ſuch practices as the other, and
" left men in *diſputable things* free to their own
" *conſciences*, which was well provided for by the
" *government*, and liberty left to provide againſt
" what was apparently evil?

" JUDGE you, whether the *conteſting* for things
" that were provided for by this government hath
" been *profitable* expence of time for the good of
" theſe nations? By means whereof, you may ſee
" you have wholly elapſed your time, and done
" juſt nothing.

" I WILL ſay this to you in behalf of the long
" *parliament*, that had ſuch an expedient as this
" government been propoſed to them, and that
" they could have ſeen the cauſe of God thus
" provided for, and had by debates been enlight-
" ned in the grounds by which the *difficulties*
" might have been cleared, and the reaſon of the
" whole inforced, the circumſtances of *time* and
" *perſons*, with the *temper* and *diſpoſition* of the
" *people*, and *affairs* both *abroad* and at *home*,
" when it was undertaken, well weighed (as well

" as

1654. " as they were thought to love their ſeats) I
" think in my conſcience that they would have
" proceeded in another manner than you have
" done, and not have expoſed things to thoſe
" *difficulties* and *hazards* they now are at, nor
" given occaſion to leave the *people* ſo *diſſettled* as
" now they are, who, I dare ſay, in the ſobereſt,
" and moſt judicious part of them, did expect,
" not a *queſtioning*, but a *doing* things in purſu-
" ance of the government; and, if I be not miſ-
" informed, very many of you came up with this
" *ſatisfaction*, having had time enough to weigh
" and conſider the ſame.

" And when I ſay, ſuch an *expedient* as this
" government is, wherein I dare aſſert there is a
" juſt *liberty* to the *people* of God, and the *juſt*
" *rights* of the people in theſe nations provided
" for, I can put the iſſue thereof upon the *cleareſt*
" *reaſon*, whatſoever any go about to ſuggeſt to
" the contrary.

" But this not being the time and place of
" ſuch an *averment*, for ſatisfaction ſake herein,
" enough is ſaid in a book, entituled, *A true ſtate*
" *of the caſe of the commonwealth*, &c. publiſhed
" in *January* 1653. (And for myſelf, I deſire not
" to keep it an hour longer than I may preſerve
" *England* in its *juſt rights*, and may *protect* the
" people of God in ſuch a juſt *liberty* of their *con-*
" *ſciences*, as I have already mentioned.) And
" therefore if this parliament have judged things
" to be otherwiſe than as I have ſtated them, it had
" been huge *friendlineſs* between perſons that had
" ſuch a *Reciprocation*, and in ſo great *concern-*
" *ments* to the publick, for them to have convinc'd
" me in what particulars therein my error lay, of
" which I never yet had a word from you. But
" if inſtead thereof, your time has been ſpent in
" *ſetting up* ſomewhat elſe upon another *bottom*
" than this ſtands, that looks as if a laying grounds

" of

" of a *quarrel* had rather been deſigned, than to 1654.
" give the people *ſettlement*; if it be thus, it is
" well your labours have not arrived to any ma-
" turity at all.

" THIS government called you hither, the con-
" ſtitution whereof being ſo limited, *a ſingle per-*
" *ſon and a parliament*, and this was thought moſt
" agreeable to the general ſenſe of the nation,
" having had experience enough by trial of other
" concluſions, judging this moſt likely to avoid
" the extremes of *Monarchy* on the one hand,
" and *Democracy* on the other, and yet not to
" found *dominium in gratia*. And if ſo, then cer-
" tainly to make it more than a notion, it was
" requiſite that it ſhould be as it is in the govern-
" ment, which puts it upon a true and equal *ba-*
" *lance*. It has been already ſubmitted to the ju-
" dicious honeſt people of this nation, whether
" the *balance* be not equal, and what their judg-
" ment is, is *viſible* by *ſubmiſſion* to it, by *acting*
" upon it, by *reſtraining* their *truſtees* from med-
" dling with it; and it neither aſks nor needs
" any better ratification. But when *truſtees* in
" *parliament* ſhall by *experience* find any evil in
" any parts of the *government*, referred by the
" *government* itſelf to the conſideration of the Pro-
" tector and Parliament (of which time itſelf will
" be the beſt diſcoverer) how can it be reaſonably
" imagin'd, that a perſon or perſons coming in
" by *election*, and ſtanding under ſuch *obligations*,
" and ſo *limited*, and ſo neceſſitated by *oath* to *go-*
" *vern*, for the people's good, and to make their
" love, under God, the beſt under-propping, and
" his beſt intereſt to him; how can it, I ſay, be
" imagin'd that the preſent or ſucceeding Pro-
" tectors will refuſe to agree to alter any ſuch
" thing in the government that may be found to
" be for the good of the people, or to recede from
" any thing which he might be convinced caſts the

" *ba-*

1654. " *balance* too much to the ſingle perſon? And
" although for the preſent, the keeping up, and
" having in his power the *militia*, ſeems the moſt
" hard, yet if it ſhould be yielded up at ſuch a
" time as this, when there is as much need to keep
" this cauſe by it (which is moſt evidently at
" this time impugned by all the enemies of it) as
" there was to get it, what would become of all?
" Or if it ſhould not be equally placed in him
" and the *parliament*, but yielded up at any time,
" it determines his power, either for doing the
" good he ought, or hindering *parliaments* from
" perpetuating themſelves, or from impoſing what
" *religions* they pleaſe on the conſciences of men,
" or what government they pleaſe upon the nation,
" thereby ſubjecting us to *diſſettlement* in every
" *parliament*, and to the deſperate conſequences
" thereof; and if the nation ſhall happen to fall
" into a bleſſed peace, how eaſily and certainly
" will their charge be taken off, and their forces
" be diſbanded, and then where will the danger
" be to have the *militia* thus ſtated?

" WHAT if I ſhould ſay, if there ſhould be a
" diſproportion or diſequality as to the power, it
" is on the other hand? And if this be ſo, where-
" in have you had cauſe to quarrel? What de-
" monſtrations have you held forth to ſettle me
" to your opinion? Would you had made me ſo
" happy as to let me have known your *grounds*.
" I have made a free and ingenuous confeſſion of
" my faith to you, and could have wiſhed it had
" been in your hearts to have agreed that ſome
" friendly and cordial debates might have been
" towards mutual conviction; was there none
" amongſt you to move ſuch a thing? No fitneſs
" to liſten to it? No deſire of a right underſtand-
" ing? If it be not folly in me to liſten to town-
" talk, ſuch things have been propoſed, and re-
" jected with ſtiffneſs and ſeverity, once and
" again;

" agaid; was it not likely to have been more ad- 1654.
" vantagious to the good of this nation? I will
" ſay this to you for myſelf, and to that I have
" my *conſcience* as a thouſand witneſſes, and I have
" my comfort and contentment in it, and I have
" the witneſs of divers here, that I think truly
" ſcorn to own me in a lye, that I would not have
" been averſe to any alteration, of the good of
" which I might have been convinc'd, although I
" could not have agreed to the taking it off the
" foundation on which it ſtands, *viz. The accepta-*
" *tion and conſent of the people.*

" I WILL not preſage what you have been about,
" or doing in all this *time*, nor do I love to make
" *conjectures*; but I muſt tell you this, that as I
" undertook this *government* in the ſimplicity of
" my heart, and as before God, and to do the
" part of an honeſt man, and to be true to the
" intereſt which in my *conſcience* is dear to many
" of you (though it is not always underſtood what
" God in his wiſdom may hide from us, as to
" peace and ſettlement) ſo I can ſay that no par-
" ticular intereſt, either of my *ſelf*, *eſtate*, *honour*,
" or *family*, are, or have been prevalent with me to
" this undertaking.

" FOR if you had upon the old government
" offer'd to me this one thing; I ſpeak, as thus
" adviſed, and before God, as having been to
" this day of this opinion, and this hath been my
" conſtant *judgment*, well known to many that
" hear me ſpeak; if this one thing had been in-
" ſerted, that one thing, that this *government*
" ſhould have been, and placed in my family
" *hereditary*, I would have rejected it, * and I
" could have done no other, according to my

* *Ludlow* obſerves here, that in this he flattered the ambition of major-general *Lambert*, and kept him in expectation of ſucceeding him, and ſo ſecured his aſſiſtance in carrying on his deſigns.

" preſent

1654. " preſent *conſcience* and *light*. I will tell you my " reaſon, though I cannot tell what God will do " with me, nor you, nor the nation, for throw- " ing away precious opportunities committed to " us.

" THIS hath been my principle, and I liked " it when this government came firſt to be pro- " poſed to me, that it put us off that *hereditary* " way, well looking, that as God had declared " what government he had delivered to the *Jews*, " and placed it upon ſuch perſons as had been in- " ſtrumental for the *conduct* and *deliverance* of " his people; and conſidering that promiſe in " *Iſaiah*, that God would *give rulers as at the* " *firſt, and judges as at the beginning*; I did not " know, but that God might begin, and though " at preſent with a moſt unworthy *perſon*, yet as " to the future, it might be after this manner, " and I thought this might uſher it in. I am ſpeak- " ing as to my *judgment* againſt making it *hered-* " *tary*, to have men choſen for their *love to God*, " and to *truth* and *juſtice*, and not to have it " *hereditary*; for as it is in *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Who know-* " *eth whether he may beget a fool or wiſe*, honeſt or " not? Whatever they be muſt come in upon that " account, becauſe the *government* is made a *pa-* " *trimony*.

" AND this I do perhaps declare with too " much *earneſtneſs*, as being my own *concernment*, " and know not what *place* it may have in your " *hearts*, and of the good people in the nation; " but however it be, I have comfort in this my " truth and plainneſs.

" I HAVE thus told you my thoughts, which " truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, " as knowing he will not be mocked, and in the " ſtrength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that " I am kept in my ſpeaking, eſpecially, when I " do not form or frame things without the com-

" paſs

" paſs of *integrity* and *honeſty*, that my own *con-* 1654.
" *ſcience* gives me not the *lye* to what I ſay, and
" then in what I ſay I can rejoice.

" Now to ſpeak a word or two to you, of that
" I muſt profeſs in the name of the ſame Lord,
" and wiſh that there had been no cauſe that I
" ſhould have thus ſpoken to you; and though I
" have told you, that I came with *joy* the *firſt*
" *time*, with ſome *regret the ſecond*, that *now* I
" ſpeak with *moſt regret* of all.

" I LOOK upon you, as having among you ma-
" ny perſons, that I could lay down my life indi-
" vidually for; I could, through the grace of God,
" deſire to lay down my life for you: So far am I
" from having an unkind or unchriſtian heart to-
" wards you, in your particular capacities.

" I HAVE indeed, as a work moſt incum-
" bent upon *me*, conſulted what might be *my*
" *duty* in ſuch a *day* as this, caſting up all conſide-
" rations: I muſt confeſs, as I told you, that I
" did think *occaſionally* this nation hath *ſuffered*
" extremely in the reſpects mentioned, as alſo in
" the *diſappointments* of their *expectations* of that
" *juſtice* that was due to them by your *ſitting* thus
" long; and what have you brought forth?

" I DID not, nor cannot apprehend what it is,
" (I would be loth to call it a *fate*, that were too
" *paganiſh* a word) but there is ſomething in it,
" that we have not our expectations.

" I DID think alſo for myſelf, that I am like
" to meet with *difficulties*, and that this nation
" will not (as it is fit it ſhould not) be deluded
" with pretexts of neceſſity in that great buſineſs
" of raiſing of money; and were it not that I can
" make ſome *dilemma's* upon which to reſolve
" ſome things of my *conſcience*, *judgment*, and *acti-*
" *ons*, I ſhould ſink at the very proſpect of my
" encounters; ſome of them are general, ſome are
" more ſpecial, ſuppoſing this *cauſe*, or this *buſi-*

1654. " *neſs* muſt be carried on: Either it is of *God*, or " of *man*; if it be of *man*, I would I had never " touched it with a finger; if I had not had a " hope fixed in me, that this *cauſe*, and this *bu-* " *ſineſs* is of God, I would many years ago have " run from it. If it be of *God*, he will bear it up. " If it be of *man*, it will tumble, as every thing " that hath been of man, ſince the world began, " hath done. And what are all our *hiſtories* and " other *traditions* of actions in *former times*, but " God manifeſting himſelf that he hath *ſhaken* and " *tumbled down*, and *trampled upon*, every thing " that he hath not *planted?* And as this is, ſo the " all-wiſe God deal with it.

" If this be of human ſtructure and invention, " and it be an old *plotting* and *contrivance* to bring " things to this *iſſue*, and they are not the *births* of " *providence*, then they will tumble. But if the " Lord take pleaſure in *England*, and if he will do " us good, he is able to bear us up; let the difficulties " be whatſoever they will, we ſhall in his ſtrength " be able to encounter with them. And I bleſs God " I have been inured to *difficulties*, and I never " found God *failing* when I truſted in him; I can " laugh and ſing in my heart when I ſpeak of theſe " things to you, or elſewhere. And though ſome " may think it is an hard thing without *parliamen-* " *tary authority* to raiſe *money* upon this *nation*; yet " I have another argument to the good people of " this nation, if they would be ſafe, and have no " better *principle*; whether they prefer the having " of their *will*, tho' it be their *deſtruction*, rather " than comply with things of neceſſity; that will " excuſe me; but I ſhould wrong my native coun- " try to ſuppoſe this.

" For I look at the people of theſe nations, as " the bleſſing of the Lord, and they are a people " bleſſed by God. They have been ſo, and they " will be ſo, by reaſon of that *immortal ſeed*, which

" hath

" hath been, and is among them, thoſe regene- 1654
" rated ones in the land, of ſeveral judgments,
" who are all the flock of Chriſt and lambs of
" Chriſt, tho' perhaps under many unruly paſſions,
" and troubles of ſpirits, whereby they give diſqui-
" et to themſelves and others; yet they are not
" ſo to God, as to us; he is a God of other pa-
" tience, and he will own the leaſt of truth in the
" hearts of his people; and the people being the
" bleſſing of God, they will not be ſo angry, but
" they will prefer their ſafety to their paſſions,
" and their real ſecurity to forms, when neceſſity
" calls for ſupplies; had they not been well ac-
" quainted with this principle, they had never
" ſeen this day of goſpel-liberty.

" BUT if any man ſhall object, It is an eaſy
" thing to talk of neceſſities, when men create ne-
" ceſſities; would not the Lord Protector make
" himſelf great, and his Family great? doth not
" he make theſe neceſſities? and then he will
" come upon the people with this argument of
" neceſſity.

" THIS were ſomething hard indeed, but I
" have not yet known what it is to make neceſſi-
" ties, whatſoever the judgments or thoughts of
" men are. And I ſay this, not only to this aſ-
" ſembly, but to the world, that that man liveth
" not, that can come to me, and charge me that
" I have in theſe great revolutions made neceſſities:
" I challenge even all that fear God; and as God
" hath ſaid, *My glory I will not give unto another*;
" let men take heed, and be twice advis'd, how
" they call his revolutions, the things of God, and
" his working of things from one period to ano-
" ther, how, I ſay, they call them neceſſities of
" mens creation; for by ſo doing, they do vilify
" and leſſen the works of God, and rob him of his
" glory, which he hath ſaid, *he will not give un-*
" *to another*, nor ſuffer to be taken from him.

1654. " We know what God did to *Herod* when he was
" applauded, and did not acknowledge God; and
" God knoweth what he will do with men, when
" they ſhall call his revolutions human deſigns,
" and ſo detract from his glory, when they have
" not been forecaſt, but ſudden providences in
" things, whereby carnal and worldly men are
" enraged, and under, and at which many, (I fear,
" ſome good) have murmured and repined, be-
" cauſe diſappointed of their miſtaken fancies;
" but ſtill they have been the wiſe diſpoſings of
" the Almighty, though inſtruments have had
" their paſſions and frailties; and I think it is an
" honour to God to acknowledge the neceſſities to
" have been of God's impoſing, when truly they
" have been ſo, as indeed they have, when we
" take our ſin in our actings to ourſelves; and
" much more ſafe, than to judge things ſo con-
" tingent, as if there were not a God that ruled
" upon earth.

" We know the Lord hath poured this nation
" from veſſel to veſſel, till he poured it into your
" lap, when you came firſt together: I am confi-
" dent, that it came ſo into your hands, was not
" judged by you to be from counterfeited or
" feign'd neceſſity, but by divine providence and
" diſpenſation. And this I ſpeak with more ear-
" neſtneſs, becauſe I ſpeak for God, and not for
" men; I would have any man to come and tell
" of the tranſactions that have been, and of thoſe
" periods of time, wherein God hath made theſe
" *revolutions*, and find where they can fix a feigned
" neceſſity.

" I could recite particulars, if either my
" ſtrength would ſerve me to ſpeak, or yours to
" hear; if that you would revolve the great hand
" of God in his great diſpenſations, you would
" find that there is ſcarce a man that fell off at any
" period of time when God had any work to do,

" that

" that can give God or his work, at this day, a " good word. 1654.

" IT was, ſay ſome, the cunning of the Lord " Protector (I take it to myſelf) it was the craft " of ſuch a man, and his plot, that hath brought " it about. And as they ſay in other countries, " there are five or ſix cunning men in *England* that " have *ſkill*, they do all theſe things: Oh what " blaſphemy is this! becauſe men *that are without " God in the world*, and walk not with him, and " know not what it is to *pray*, or *believe*, and to " receive returns from God, and to be *ſpoken* unto " by the ſpirit of God, who *ſpeaks* without a writ- " ten word ſometimes, yet according to it: God " hath ſpoken heretofore *in divers manners*, let " him ſpeak as he pleaſeth. Hath he not given " us *liberty?* Nay, is it not our duty to go to the " *law and to the teſtimonies*, and there we ſhall find " that there have been impreſſions in extraordi- " nary caſes, as well without the written word as " with it; and therefore there is no difference in " the thing thus aſſerted from truths generally re- " ceiv'd, except we will exclude the *Spirit*, with- " out whoſe concurrence all other teachings are " *ineffectual*. He doth ſpeak to the hearts and " conſciences of men, and leadeth them to his " law and teſtimonies, and there he ſpeaks to them, " and ſo gives them double teachings, according " to that of *Job*, *God ſpeaketh once, yea twice*; and " that of *David*, *God hath ſpoken once, yea twice " have I heard this*. Thoſe men that live upon " their *Mumpſimus* and *Sumpſimus*, their *Maſſes* " and *Service-books*, their dead and carnal worſhip, " no marvel if they be *ſtrangers* to God, and the " *works* of God, and to *ſpiritual diſpenſations*. And " becauſe they ſay and believe thus, muſt we do " ſo too? We in this *land* have been otherwiſe in- " ſtructed, even by the *word*, and *works*, and *Spirit* " of God.

1654. " To ſay that *men* bring forth theſe things, when " *God* doth them, judge you if God will bear this. " I wiſh that every ſober heart, tho' he hath had " temptations upon him of deſerting this *cauſe* of " God, yet may take heed how he provokes, and " *falls into the hands of the living God*, by ſuch blaſ- " phemies as theſe, according to the 10th of the " *Hebrews*, *If we ſin wilfully after that we have re-* " *ceived the knowledge of the truth, there remains no* " *more ſacrifice for ſin*; (It was ſpoken to the *Jews*, " that having profeſſed Chriſt apoſtatized from " him) what then? nothing but *a fearful falling* " *into the hands of the living God.*

" THEY that ſhall *attribute* to this or that *per-* " *ſon* the contrivances and production of thoſe " mighty things God hath wrought in the midſt " of us, and that they have not been the revolu- " tions of Chriſt himſelf, upon whoſe *ſhoulders* the " *government* is laid, they ſpeak againſt God, and " they fall under his hand without a Mediator; " that is, if we deny the *Spirit* of Jeſus Chriſt the " *glory* of all his works in the world, by which " he *rules* kingdoms, and doth *adminiſter*, and is " the *rod* of his ſtrength, we provoke the Media- " tor; and he may ſay, I'll leave you to God, I'll " not intercede for you, let him tear you to pieces; " I'll leave thee to fall into God's hands, thou de- " nieſt me my ſovereignty and power committed " to me; I'll not intercede nor mediate for thee, " thou falleſt into the hands of the living God. " Therefore whatſoever you may judge *men* for, " and ſay, this man is cunning, and politick, and " ſubtil, take heed, again I ſay, how you judge " of his *revolutions*, as the *products* of *mens* inven- " tions.

" I MAY be thought to preſs too much upon this " theme, but I pray God it may ſtick upon your " hearts and mine. *The worldly minded man* knows " nothing of this, but is a ſtranger to it; and be-

" cauſe

" cauſe of this is his *atheiſm* and *murmuring* at *in-* 1654.
" *ſtruments*, yea, *repining* at *God himſelf*; and no
" wonder, conſidering the Lord hath done ſuch
" things amongſt us as have not been known in
" the world theſe thouſand years, and yet not-
" withſtanding is not owned by us.

" THERE is another *neceſſity* which you have
" put upon us, and we have not ſought; I appeal
" to God, angels, and men, if I ſhall raiſe money
" according to the article in the government, which
" had power to call you hither, and did, and in-
" ſtead of ſeaſonable providing for the army, you
" have laboured to overthrow the *government*, and
" the *army* is now upon *free quarter*, and you would
" never ſo much as let me hear a tittle from you
" concerning it; where is the fault? Has it not
" been as if you had had a purpoſe to put this ex-
" tremity upon us and the nation? I hope this
" was not in your minds, I am not willing to judge
" ſo; but this is the ſtate unto which we are re-
" duced: By the *deſigns* of ſome in the *army*, who
" are now in *cuſtody*, it was *deſign'd* to get as many
" of them as they could, through diſcontent for
" want of money, the army being in a barren coun-
" try, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon
" other ſpecious pretences, to march for *England*
" out of *Scotland*, and in diſcontent to *ſeize* their
" *general* there, a faithful and honeſt man, that ſo
" another might head the army; and all this op-
" portunity taken from your delays; whether will
" this be a thing of feigned *neceſſity?* What could
" it ſignify but that the army are in *diſcontent* al-
" ready, and we'll make them live upon *ſtones*,
" we'll make them caſt off their *governors* and *diſ-*
" *cipline?* What can be ſaid to this? I liſt not to
" unſaddle myſelf, and put the fault upon others
" Backs; whether it hath been for the good of
" *England*, whilſt men have been talking of this
" thing or the other, and pretending *liberty*, and

1654. " a many good words, whether it hath been as it
" ſhould have been? I am confident you cannot
" think it has, the nation will not think ſo. And
" if the worſt ſhould be made of things, I know
" not what the *Corniſh-men*, or the *Lincolnſhire-men*
" may think, or other counties, but I believe they
" will all think they are not ſafe. A temporary
" ſuſpenſion of caring for the greateſt *liberties* and
" privileges (if it were ſo, which is denied) would
" not have been of that damage, that the not pro-
" viding againſt *free quarter* hath run the nation
" upon. And if it be my *liberty* to walk abroad
" in the *fields*, or to take a *journey*, yet it is not
" my *wiſdom* to do ſo when my *houſe is on fire.*
" I HAVE troubled you with a long *ſpeech*, and
" I believe it may not have the ſame reſentment
" with all that it hath with ſome; but becauſe
" this is unknown to me, I ſhall leave it to God,
" and conclude with that, that I think myſelf
" bound in my duty to God, and the people of
" theſe nations, to their *ſafety* and *good* in every
" reſpect; I think it my duty to tell you, that it
" is not for the *profit* of theſe nations, nor for *com-*
" *mon* and *publick good*, for you to continue here
" any longer; and therefore I do declare unto
" you, *That I do diſſolve this parliament.*"

CHAP. V.

From the diſſolution of his ſecond PARLIAMENT, *to the meeting of his third* PARLIAMENT.

THUS the Protector in great diſpleaſure, and in this upbraiding manner, parted with his ſecond parliament; which as it increas'd the indignation of the Republicans, ſo it gave great encouragement to the Royaliſts, to go on with the deſigns

ſigns they had now on foot; ſo that both parties, for King and Common-wealth, were in rage, and plots, and arms againſt him, though by *Oliver's* good policy and extraordinary intelligence, their deſigns were cruſh'd before they could bring them to any maturity. Major *John Wildman*, a noted commonwealth's-man, whom the Protector had expell'd the houſe at the firſt opening of the ſeſſion, was ſeiz'd with a paper dictated by him, intitled, *The declaration of the free and well-affected people of* England, *now in arms againſt the tyrant* Oliver Cromwell, *Eſq*; and beginning thus: "Being ſa- "tisfy'd in our judgment and conſciences of the "preſent neceſſity to take up arms for the defence "of our native rights and freedoms, which are "wholly invaded and ſwallowed up in the pride "and ambition of *Oliver Cromwell*, who calls him- "ſelf Lord Protector of *England*, who hath ren- "der'd all *Engliſhmen* no better than his vaſſals, "*&c.*" But this man, contrary to the expectation of all his friends, who thought of nothing but his death, was after a ſhort impriſonment diſcharged and ſet at full liberty. The Protector at the ſame time us'd all imaginable arts to ſecure himſelf, and prevent a univerſal odium: He pay'd the fleet and army well, and diſcharg'd all officers whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected; carried it very fair with the city of *London*, giving them the power of their own militia, under their old leader major-general *Skippon*, treating them and accepting of treats from them; eas'd the common people of ſome cuſtomary burdens, and ſome part of their taxes; and us'd an indefatigable diligence and unbounded expence in procuring intelligence, and early cruſhing all deſigns againſt him. So that though his mother (who dy'd this year, and was buried with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity) was in continual fear of her ſon's life, and when ſhe heard any gun go off, would cry out that *her ſon was ſhot*, and could not

1654.

Wildman's declaration.

1654. not be eaſy without ſeeing him ſafe once or twice a day; and though a thouſand of his enemies did really believe, that *killing* him would be no *murder*, yet he had the good fortune to eſcape all dangers.

Several riſings for the King.

THE *Cavalier* plot was ſtill on foot, which the Protector had a jealouſy was countenanc'd by the parliament; and he gave out that to be a cauſe of his diſſolving them. The project was, to have ſeveral parties riſe together in ſeveral parts of the nation, about the beginning of *March*; and though upon the private intelligence the Protector had receiv'd, ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and many arms ſeiz'd, yet it was ſtill reſolved to attempt ſomething. To this end, a cart-load of arms was brought to the place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where 'twas reported the conſpirators were to be headed by *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*. But being ſomewhat alarm'd at their firſt meeting, and apprehenſive of the regular forces falling upon them before they were ſufficiently prepar'd, they diſpers'd themſelves, leaving their arms behind them. The deſign was not ſo ſoon over in the weſt, where Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*, colonel *Penruddock*, captain *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Jones*, and other perſons of condition, enter'd *Saliſbury* with a body of two hundred horſe well arm'd, expecting there to have their numbers daily augmented. It was the time of the aſſizes, and they came thither about five o'clock in the morning; where, having proclaim'd the King, they ſeiz'd the judges, *Rolls* and *Nicolas*, and took away their commiſſions. They alſo ſeiz'd the ſheriff; and *Wagſtaff* was for hanging all three of them; but others not agreeing to it, they were at laſt ſet at liberty. Their forces not at all anſwering their firſt expectations, they retired to *Dog-town*, and from thence march'd as far as *Blanford* in *Dorſetſhire*, where moſt men look'd upon them as flying, ſeveral of their own party

party ſtealing from them as faſt as others came to them; and thoſe who continued with them, did ſo rather to ſecure themſelves and obtain better conditions, than from any expectation of ſucceſs in their undertaking. Captain *Unton Crook*, having intelligence of their motions, purſu'd them into *Devonſhire*, and at *South-Molton* fell upon them and totally defeated them: Moſt of them were taken priſoners, and amongſt them *Penruddock*, *Grove*, and *Jones*; *Wagſtaff*, *Maſon*, and *Mompeſſon* narrowly eſcaping. *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at *Exeter*, and others were hang'd in that city; ſome of them were ſent to *Saliſbury*, the place where they had ſo lately triumph'd, and there try'd and executed; and many were tranſported to the *Weſt-Indies*. Thus theſe inſurrections, which at firſt ſeem'd to threaten the whole kingdom, expir'd for the preſent, and the Protector was ſecur'd without the help of his army.

1654.

They are ſuppreſs'd.

THIS plot, which was laid to ruin the Protector, prov'd in the iſſue of great advantage to him, advanc'd his credit, and ſerv'd to confirm his authority the more. It clear'd him of the reproach of inventing plots himſelf for an excuſe and pretence to continue ſuch numerous forces in pay; and that little ſucceſs the King's party met with, was judg'd a good proof that there was not yet ſufficient force for the ſafety and quiet of the kingdom. From hence he took occaſion, with the advice of his council, to make an order, "That all "who had born arms for the King, or had de- "clar'd themſelves to be of his party, ſhould be "*decimated*, or pay a tenth part of their eſtates, "to ſupport the charge of ſuch extraordinary forces, "as their turbulent and ſeditious practices oblig'd "him to keep up;" the Protector declaring, *That the charge ſhould be laid upon thoſe who had occaſion'd it, and not upon the honeſt party, who had already been ſo much ſufferers.* Commiſſioners were appointed

The Royaliſts decimated.

1654. appointed in every county for this purpoſe; and by this means incredible ſums of money were brought into the Protector's coffers. He likewiſe committed to priſon many of thoſe whom he ſuſpected, as the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, and *Compton*; *Littleton*, *Peyton*, *Packington*, *Aſhburnham*, *Ruſſel*, *Legg*, *Philips*, *Halſey*, and ſeveral others. He had alſo a very watchful eye over the Republicans, and Fifth-monarchy men, and gave *Monk* orders to ſeize major-general *Overton*, major *Bramſtone*, *Holms*, and other officers. *Overton* was ſent up to *London* and committed to the Tower, and his regiment given to colonel *Morgan*, colonel *Okey*'s to the lord *Howard*, and cornet *Joyce*, now colonel, was likewiſe caſhier'd. And finally, to provide for all inconveniences, as well amongſt the people as in the army, he divided *England*, as 'twere, into ſo many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of *major-general*; which *major-generals* were in the nature of prefects or governors of provinces. Theſe men were to have the inſpection and government of the inferior commiſſioners in every county, to commit to priſon all ſuch perſons as they ſuſpected, to levy all moneys which were order'd by his Highneſs and his council to be collected for the publick, to ſequeſter all who did not pay their *decimation*, and to put in execution ſuch farther directions as they ſhould receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts, but to the Protector himſelf. Their names and ſeveral diviſions were as follow: Colonel *Kelſey* was *major-general* for *Kent* and *Surry*; colonel *Goffe* for *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*; colonel *Deſborough* for *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwall*; lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* for *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; major-general *Skippon* for the city of *London*; commiſſary-

The Protector appoints *major-generals*.

miſſary-general *Whaley* for *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, and *Leiceſterſhire*; major *Butler* for *Northamptonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Rutland*, and *Huntingtonſhire*; colonel *Berry* for *Worceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and *North-Wales*; colonel *Whortley* for *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Staffordſhire*; major-general *Lambert* for *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Northumberland*; and colonel *Barkſtead* for the city of *Weſtminſter*, and *Middleſex*. 1655.

THESE *major-generals* carry'd things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleas'd, interrupting the proceedings at law, upon petitions of thoſe who thought themſelves aggriev'd, and threatning ſuch as would not readily ſubmit to their orders with tranſportation to the *Weſt-Indies*.

Story of a farmer of *Berkſhire*.

A certain farmer in *Berkſhire*, being requir'd to pay his tenth, aſk'd the commiſſioners, in caſe he did ſo, *What ſecurity he ſhould have for the other nine parts*; and it being anſwer'd, *That he ſhould have the Protector's order and theirs for the enjoyment of the reſt*; he reply'd, *That he had already an act of Parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good ſecurity as they could give: But*, ſaid he, *if Goodman ſuch-a-one and ſuch-a-one* (naming two of his neighbours) *will give me their bond for it, I know what to ſay to ſuch a propoſal; for if they break their agreement, I know where to right myſelf; but theſe ſword-men are too ſtrong for me.*

Of one *Cony*, who refus'd to pay taxes to *Cromwell*.

ABOUT this time alſo, the Protector having laid ſome extraordinary tax upon the city, one *Cony*, who had formerly ſerv'd him in bringing about his deſigns, poſitively refuſed to pay his ſhare, and vehemently diſſuaded others from complying with it: Hereupon the Protector ſent for him, and put him in mind of the old friendſhip that had been between them, telling him, *That of all men he did not expect this oppoſition from him, in a matter that was ſo neceſſary for the good of the commonwealth.*

Cony

1655. *Cony* in return remember'd him, how great an enemy he had expreſs'd himſelf to ſuch grievances, and how he had declared, *That all who ſubmitted to pay illegal taxes, were greater enemies to their country than they who impoſed them; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but by the tameneſs and ſtupidity of the people.* When the Protector ſaw he could not bring him over, he told him, *That he had a will as ſtubborn as his, and he would try which of them two ſhould be maſter*; and thereupon committed him to priſon. As ſoon as the term came on, the priſoner brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the *King's Bench*, then called the *Upper-Bench*. *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, and *Windham* being of counſel for him, demanded his liberty, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and of the impoſition. The judges could not defend either, and it appear'd plainly what their ſentence would be; ſo that the Protector's attorney requir'd a farther day to anſwer what had been urg'd. But before that time, the three who were his counſel were committed to the Tower; and the judges were ſent for and ſeverely reprimanded, for ſuffering the liberty they had taken: And when they humbly alledg'd the law and *Magna Charta*, the Protector told them, *Their* Magna F——a *ſhould not controle his actions, which he knew were for the ſafety of the commonwealth*; and aſk'd them, *Who made them judges? And whether they had any authority to ſet there but what he gave them*; and therefore he adviſed them *to be more tender of that which only could preſerve them*, and ſent them away with this caution, *That they ſhould not ſuffer the lawyers to prate, what it would not become them to hear.*

Of Sir *Peter Wentworth.*

AT another time, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, a member of the *long parliament*, caus'd a collector in the country to be proſecuted at his ſuit, though he could ſcarce procure any attorney to appear, or counſel to plead for him. The Protector being informed

form'd of this proſecution, ſent a meſſenger to bring Sir *Peter* before the council; where being aſk'd the reaſon of this proceeding, he told them, *That he was mov'd to it by his conſtant principle, That by the law of* England *no money ought to be levy'd upon the people, without their conſent in parliament.* The Protector then aſk'd him, *Whether he would withdraw his action or no*; to which he reply'd, *If you will command me, I muſt ſubmit: Cromwell* therefore commanding it, he accordingly withdrew his action; and ſo this matter ended. 1655.

Many things worthy of praiſe in the Protector's government.

BUT though the Protector proceeded in this arbitrary manner againſt thoſe who conteſted his authority; yet in all other caſes, where the life of his juriſdiction was not concern'd, he ſeem'd to have a great reverence for the law, and the conſtitution, rarely interpoſing between party and party; and to do him juſtice, there appear'd in his government many things that were truly great and praiſe-worthy. Juſtice, as well diſtributive as commutative, was by him reſtor'd almoſt to its ancient grace and ſplendor, the judges executing their office without covetouſneſs, according to law and equity, and the laws, except ſome few where himſelf was immediately concern'd, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay. Mens manners, outwardly at leaſt, became likewiſe reform'd, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now reviv'd, and put in execution. There was a ſtrict diſcipline kept in his court, where drunkenneſs, whoredom, and extortion were either baniſh'd, or ſeverely rebuk'd. Trade began again to flouriſh and proſper, and moſt things to put on a happy and promiſing aſpect. The Protector alſo ſhew'd a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The univerſity of *Oxford*, in particular, acknowledg'd his Highneſs's reſpect to them, in continuing their chancellor,

1655. chancellor, and beſtowing on the publick library there four and twenty *Greek* manuſcripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a year to a divinity reader. He alſo order'd a ſcheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at *Durham*, for the convenience of the northern ſtudents.

His deſign of re-admitting the *Jews*.

ABOUT this time, a deſign was form'd by the Protector, of ſettling the *Jews* again in this nation; and *Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael*, a great Rabbi, came over and made his ſtated propoſals, and had a conference upon them, for re-admitting that people to exerciſe trade and worſhip in *England*. The Protector, on this occaſion, ſent for divers miniſters of the goſpel, and laid thoſe propoſals before them; and at the ſame time with great earneſtneſs declar'd his opinion, "That ſince there was a "promiſe that they ſhould be converted, means "ought to be us'd to that end; and the moſt likely way was, the preaching of the goſpel in "truth and ſincerity, as it was then in *England*, "devoid of all popiſh idolatry, which had ren-"der'd the chriſtian religion odious to them." But the deſign was ſo violently oppoſed that this treaty came to nothing. 'Tis ſaid the Protector had the promiſe of 200,000 *l.* from the *Jews*, in caſe he procured this toleration for them; which made him ſo earneſt to bring it about: But Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, that he enter'd into this treaty with them for the ſake of intelligence. His words are theſe: "When he underſtood what dealers "the *Jews* were every where in that trade that de-"pends on news, the advancing money upon "high or low intereſt in proportion to the riſque "they run, or the gain to be made as the times "might turn, and in the buying and ſelling of the "actions of money ſo advanc'd, he, more upon "that account, than in compliance with the prin-"ciple of toleration, brought a company of them

"over

" over to *England*, and gave them leave to build 1655.
" a ſynagogue. All the while that he was nego-
" tiating this, they were ſure and good ſpies for
" him, eſpecially with relation to *Spain* and *Por-*
" *tugal*."

UPON this the Biſhop tells this ſtory, which he had from the Lord *Broghill*, then Earl of *Orrery*: That as that Earl was once walking with *Cromwell* in one of the galleries of *Whitehall*, a man almoſt in rags appear'd in view; upon which he immediately diſmiſs'd the Earl, and took that perſon with him into his cloſet; who told him of a great ſum of money, that the *Spaniards* were ſending over in a *Dutch* man of war, to pay their army in *Flanders*; and alſo whereabouts in the ſhip the ſaid money was repoſited. The Protector then immediately ſent an expreſs to *Smith* (afterwards Sir *Jeremy Smith*) who lay in the *Downs*, informing him, " That within a day or two ſuch a *Dutch* ſhip " would paſs the *Channel*, which he muſt ſearch " for the *Spaniſh* money, which was contraband " goods;" his Highneſs being then at war with *Spain*. Accordingly, when the ſhip paſs'd by *Dover*, *Smith* ſent and demanded leave to ſearch him. The *Dutch* captain return'd him this anſwer, *That none but his maſters might ſearch him:* Upon which, *Smith* ſent him word again, *That he had ſet up an hour-glaſs, and if he did not ſubmit to the ſearch before it was run out, he would force him.* The captain ſeeing it was in vain to ſtruggle, ſubmitted in time, and ſo all the money was found. And the next time his Highneſs ſaw the Lord *Orrery*, he told him, he had his intelligence from that ſeemingly forlorn man he ſaw him go to ſome days before.

A ſtory on this occaſion.

THE lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, were Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, and *Liſle*; and *William Lenthal*, Eſq; was maſter of the *Rolls*. *Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, and *Lenthal* made their exceptions againſt executing an ordinance of the

He makes a change in his miniſtry.

1655. Lord Protector and his council, *For the better regulating and limiting the juriſdiction of the high court of Chancery:* Upon which his Highneſs, not enduring his authority or his acts ſhould be diſputed, ſent for them to the council-chamber, and there requir'd them to lay down the ſeal and withdraw. He kept it a few days in his own hands, and then gave it to major *Liſle*, one of the former commiſſioners, and colonel *Fiennes*. And that *Widdrington* and *Whitelock*, the ejected commiſſioners, might not be too much diſguſted, his Highneſs appointed them commiſſioners of the treaſury; and he continued *Lenthal* in his favour for paſt ſervices.

Appoints a committee of trade.

About this time the Lord Protector and his council appointed a committee of trade, to conſider how to improve, order and regulate the trade and navigation of the commonwealth. This was an affair of great importance to the nation, and his Highneſs was very earneſt and intent upon it.

As the Protector's power was very great at home, ſo his influence was no leſs conſiderable abroad. About this time an Ambaſſador Extraordinary from *Sweden* came over in great pomp and ſtate, and with much ceremony and ſolemnity had his audience of his Highneſs in the *Banqueting houſe* at *White-hall*. The Ambaſſador ſpake in the *Swediſh* language, and his ſecretary interpreted what he ſaid in *Latin*. When he had done, the Lord Protector ſtood ſtill for ſome time, and then putting off his hat to the Ambaſſador, with a carriage full of gravity and ſtate, he anſwer'd him in *Engliſh* as follows:

His anſwer to the *Swediſh* ambaſſador.

" My lord Ambaſſador, I have great reaſon to
" acknowledge, with thankfulneſs, the reſpects and
" good affection of the King your maſter towards
" this commonwealth, and towards myſelf in par-
" ticular; whereof I ſhall always retain a very
" grateful memory, and ſhall be ready upon all
" occaſions to manifeſt the high ſenſe and value I
" have of his majeſty's friendſhip and alliance.

" My

" My Lord, you are very welcome into *England*; 1655.
" and during your abode here, you ſhall find all
" due regard and reſpect to be given to your per-
" ſon, and to the buſineſs about which you come.
" I am very willing to enter into a nearer and
" more ſtrict alliance and friendſhip with the King
" of *Swedeland*, as that which in my judgment will
" tend much to the honour and commodity of
" both nations, and to the general advantage of
" the Proteſtant intereſt. I ſhall nominate ſome
" perſons, to meet and treat with your Lordſhip
" upon ſuch particulars as you ſhall communicate
" to them."

He refuſes a viſit from *Chriſtian*, Q. of *Sweden*.

CHRISTINA, Queen of *Sweden*, having abdicated her kingdom upon changing her religion and turning Papiſt, reſolv'd to go to *Rome*, and to ſee as much as ſhe could in her way thither; and the renown of *Cromwell* made her very deſirous to ſee him. Accordingly ſhe ſent her ſecretary *Maldeſchi*, an *Italian*, from *Fountainbleau* in *France* to *London*, to procure an invitation from the Protector, who receiv'd the ſecretary with ſuch marks of reſpect, as made him hope he ſhould ſucceed in his errand. He often hinted, that her Majeſty would be extremely pleas'd to ſee ſo illuſtrious a captain. *Cromwell* gave him the hearing, but would not underſtand his meaning: He return'd compliment for compliment; and the ſecretary ſoon underſtood, that the Protector had no mind to receive a viſit from the Queen. And indeed he had three reaſons againſt inviting her; the expence of her ſtay here, his reſentment of her apoſtaſy, and the ill example of her converſation, which was too gallant and intriguing for a *Puritan* court.

Is in ſuſpence whether to join with *France* or *Spain*.

THE Protector's greateſt difficulty in his foreign affairs, was, which ſide to chuſe, *France* or *Spain*. The latter offer'd, that if his Highneſs would join with them, they would engage themſelves to make no peace, till he ſhould recover *Calais* again to the

1655. *Engliſh.* The Protector was very well pleaſed with this, thinking it would recommend him much to the nation, to reſtore that town again to the *Engliſh* empire, after it had been a hundred years poſſeſs'd by the *French.* Cardinal *Mazarine* having intelligence of this offer made by the *Spaniards*, that he might outbid them, promis'd, in caſe the Protector would join with *France*, to aſſiſt him in taking of *Dunkirk*, a place of much more importance. His Highneſs was ſtill for ſome time in ſuſpence, but that which inclin'd him very much to join with *France*, was this; he ſaw that if *France* ſhould aſſiſt the King or his brother with an army of *Hugonots*, to make a deſcent into *England* (which was threaten'd if he join'd with *Spain*) this might be of very dangerous conſequence to him who had ſo many enemies at home, and ſo few friends; whereas the *Spaniards* could give thoſe Princes no ſtrength, nor had they any Proteſtant ſubjects to aſſiſt them in ſuch an enterprize. This conſideration made a great impreſſion on him; and whilſt he was caſting in his mind, what was fit to be done, one *Gage*, formerly a prieſt, came over from the *Weſt-Indies*, and gave him ſuch a relation of the weakneſs, as well as of the riches of the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and eaſy conqueſt, to ſeize on their dominions there. By this he hop'd to ſupply himſelf with ſuch a treaſure, that his government would be eſtabliſh'd, before he ſhould need to have any recourſe to a parliament for money. And as the *Spaniards* would never admit of a peace with *England* between the tropicks, he was in a ſtate of war with them as to thoſe parts, even before he declared war againſt them in *Europe.* Upon this, he prepar'd a fleet, with a force ſufficient, as he thought, to have ſeiz'd *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*; *Gage* having aſſur'd him, that ſucceſs in that expedition would ſoon make him maſter of all the reſt. When the time

Inclines to the former.

Sets out a fleet for *Hiſpaniola.*

time of ſetting out this fleet came on, all men wonder'd whither it ſhould be deſign'd. Some imagin'd it was to rob the church of *Loretto*; and this apprehenſion occaſion'd a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talk'd of *Rome* itſelf; for the Protector's preachers often gave out, *That if it were not for the diviſions at home, he would go and ſack* Babylon. Others thought the deſign was againſt *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with *Spain*. The *French* knew nothing of the ſecret; and the Protector not having finiſh'd his alliance with them, was not oblig'd to impart to them the reaſon of his preparations. All he ſaid about it was this, *That he ſent out the fleet to guard the ſeas, and to reſtore* England *to its dominion on that element.* 1655.

THIS fleet conſiſting of about thirty men of war, under the command of vice-admiral *Penn*, with about four thouſand land-ſoldiers, to be commanded by *Venables*, ſet ſail in the beginning of this year, directly for *Barbadoes*, where the two commanders were order'd to break open their commiſſions. Being ſafely arriv'd there, and new men taken in to encreaſe the land army, they ſail'd to the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. Coming about the middle of *April* before *Sancto Domingo*, the chief port of that country, *Venables* landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had receiv'd from the Lord Protector, and march'd them thro' ſuch thick woods and uneaſy paſſages, that the *Spaniards*, with a very unequal number, beat them back. After this they advanc'd again towards the town, taking *Negroes* for their guides, who led them into an ambuſcade; ſo that they were again ſhamefully repuls'd to the bay where they landed, with the loſs of major-general *Haines*, and above ſix hundred men. They were ſoon forc'd to reimbark; and then, to make ſome amends for this unhappy miſcarriage, they made another deſcent on the iſland of *Jamaica*, and obtain'd an eaſy poſ-

Which meets with ill ſucceſs.

But takes *Jamaica*.

1655. ſeſſion of it; which iſland has ever ſince remain'd in the hands of the *Engliſh*: Where leaving a good body of foot to ſecure it, they ſail'd back to *England*. The Lord Protector was never ſo much diſturb'd as at this diſaſter at *Hiſpaniola*; ſo that *Penn* and *Venables* were no ſooner come on ſhore, but he committed them both to the *Tower*, and could never be prevail'd on to truſt either of them again.

Blake's ſucceſs in the Mediterranean.

ABOUT the time that *Penn* and *Venables* ſet out on this unfortunate expedition, admiral *Blake* ſail'd with another fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to ſcour thoſe ſeas of the *Turkiſh* pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely reſolv'd to ſeek them out in their ports. He came firſt before *Algiers*, and ſending to the *Dey*, demanded that all the *Engliſh* ſhips might be reſtor'd, and all the *Engliſh* ſlaves releas'd. The *Dey* hereupon ſent a rich preſent to *Blake*, with ſome ſtore of freſh proviſions, and gave him to underſtand, "That the ſhips and "captives already taken belong'd to private men, "therefore not ſo much in his power; but yet "they ſhould be reſtor'd at a moderate ranſom; "and if the admiral thought good, they would "conclude a peace, and for the future offer no "acts of violence to any of the *Engliſh* ſhips and "natives." A peace being accordingly concluded, *Blake* ſail'd from thence to *Tunis*, where, having made the ſame demand as at *Algiers*, inſtead of the like ſubmiſſion, he receiv'd this reſolute anſwer; "That there were their caſtles of *Goletta*, and their "ſhips and caſtles of *Porto-Ferino*; he might do "his worſt, for he ſhould not think to fright them "with the ſight of his fleet." Provok'd at this "anſwer, *Blake* reſolv'd to deſtroy their ſhips in *Porto-Ferino*. Accordingly they mann'd their long-boats with ſtout ſeamen, and ſent them into the harbour to fire thoſe ſhips, whilſt the admiral himſelf, with all his fleet, thunder'd moſt furiouſly with

with his cannon againſt their caſtles. The ſeamen, in the mean time, ſo bravely perform'd their parts, that all the nine *Turkiſh* ſhips of war were ſoon reduc'd to aſhes, with the loſs of only twenty-five men, and forty-eight wounded, on the *Engliſh* ſide. Theſe were actions of the higheſt conduct and courage, which made the *Engliſh* name very formidable in thoſe ſeas. 1655.

THERE was another reaſon of *Blake*'s ſailing into the *Mediterranean*, which was, to demand ſatisfaction of all princes and ſtates, that had moleſted the *Engliſh* in the time of war and confuſion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he ſail'd to *Leghorn*, and diſpatch'd his ſecretary to demand of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* 60000 *l.* for damages ſuſtain'd by the *Engliſh* in his dutchy; Prince *Rupert* having taken and ſold as many *Engliſh* ſhips, as amounted to that value, to the Great Duke's ſubjects. The ſaid Duke was willing to pay part of the ſum, and deſir'd time to conſult the Pope about the reſt. *Blake* ſaid the Pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole ſum, which was paid him, 35000 *Spaniſh*, and 25000 *Italian* piſtoles. The duke pretended that the Pope ought to pay part of the damage, ſome of the ſhips having been ſold to his ſubjects; accordingly the next ſucceeding Pope repaid the Great Duke 20000 piſtoles. Admral *Blake* ſent home ſixteen ſhips laden with the effects he had receiv'd from ſeveral ſtates for ſatisfaction and damages, and they were order'd to ſail up the *Thames* together for a pleaſing ſpectacle to the people.

THE King of *Spain*, provok'd at the late attempt upon his dominions in the *Weſt-Indies*, declar'd war againſt *England*; and the Protector, on the other hand, diſpatch'd orders to admiral *Blake*, to watch the return of the *Spaniſh* plate-fleet, and make what deſtruction he could upon the coaſts of *Spain*; and thought fit now to finiſh his alliance with *France*.

The Protector concludes his alliance with *France*.

1656. with *France*, ſending *Lockhart* his ambaſſador thither for that end. His Highneſs undertook to ſend over an army of 6000 foot; and when the forts in *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* ſhould be taken, they were to be put into his hands: And the *French* King likewiſe oblig'd himſelf, by this treaty, not to permit King *Charles*, nor his brothers, nor any of his relations and adherents, excepting the Queen-mother, to remain in any part of his dominions.

1656. Two great actions of *Cromwell* in favour of the *Proteſtants* abroad.

About this time, the Protector had two ſignal occaſions given him, to exerciſe his charity, and diſplay his power, and ſhew his zeal in protecting the *Proteſtants* abroad. The Duke of *Savoy* rais'd a new perſecution of the *Vaudois*, cruelly murdering and maſſacring many of them, and driving the reſt from their dwellings into the mountains. Upon this the Protector ſent to *Mazarine*, deſiring him to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings; adding, *That he knew well they had the Duke in their power, and could reſtrain him as they pleas'd; and if they did not, he muſt preſently break with them.* The Cardinal objected to this, as unreaſonable: He promis'd to do good offices; but ſaid, he could not anſwer for the effects. However, nothing would ſatisfy the Protector, till they oblig'd the Duke of *Savoy* to reſtore all he had unjuſtly taken from his proteſtant ſubjects, and to renew all their former privileges. For which purpoſe alſo he wrote to the Duke of *Savoy* himſelf, tho' he had otherwiſe no concern with him. But the title of *Royal Highneſs* being by miſtake omitted on the letter, the major part of the council of *Savoy* was for returning it back unopen'd; but the marqueſs *de Pianezza* repreſenting to them, that *Cromwell* was as haughty as he was powerful, and would not paſs by ſuch an affront; that he would certainly lay *Villa Franca* in aſhes, and ſet the *Swiſs* Proteſtant *Cantons* upon *Savoy*; the letter was read; which, together with the Cardinal's influence, had the deſir'd ſucceſs.

The

The Lord Protector alſo rais'd a great ſum of money for the *Vaudois*, and ſent over *Moreland* to ſettle all their affairs, and ſupply all their loſſes. 1656.

THE other inſtance was this: There happen'd a tumult at *Niſmes*, in which the *Hugonots* had committed ſome diſorder; who being apprehenſive of very ſevere proceedings upon it, ſent one over with great ſecreſy and expedition to the Lord Protector *Cromwell*, to deſire his interpoſition and protection. This expreſs found ſo good a reception the firſt hour he came, that his Highneſs having receiv'd the whole account, bad him, "Refreſh himſelf after ſo long a journey, and he "would take ſuch care of his buſineſs, that by the "time he came to *Paris*, he ſhould find it diſ-"patch'd." Accordingly, that night he diſpatch'd an agent with a letter to the Cardinal, and one inclos'd for the King. The letter to the Cardinal was in *Latin*; to which he added this poſtſcript in *French* with his own hand; *Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des habitants de Niſmes. Je recommande a votre eminence les interets des reformez.* "I have "heard of the tumult at *Niſmes*: I recommend to "your eminence the intereſts of the reformed." He alſo ſent inſtructions to his ambaſſador *Lockhart*, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be paſs'd over, or *to come away immediately*. The Cardinal complain'd of this way of proceeding; but the neceſſity of their affairs made him comply. Theſe things rais'd the Protector's character abroad, and caus'd him to be much depended on.

His conference with the lord *Broghill*.

THE lord *Broghill*, who was one of the Protectors cabinet counſellors, was ſent for from *Ireland* to go to *Scotland*, and be preſident of the council there; but he was ſoon weary of the place, tho' he had a ſalary of 2000*l. per Annum*. Upon his return to *London*, *Oliver* told him, *There's a great friend of yours in town*. *Broghill* aſking *who?*

Cromwell

1656. *Cromwell* ſaid, *The lord* Ormond: *He came to town ſuch a day, and is at ſuch a place*, naming it. *Broghill* ſaid, *he knew nothing of it:* But the Protector bad him ſend *Ormond* word that he knew where he was. The lord *Broghill* went himſelf, and told him what *Cromwell* had ſaid; upon which the marqueſs made haſte away: But his lady's papers were ſeiz'd on, who entreated lord *Broghill* to intercede for her. As ſoon as *Cromwell* ſaw him, he ſaid with ſome paſſion; *You have undertaken indeed for the quietneſs of a fine perſon! The lady* Ormond *is conſpiring with her huſband againſt me; and by your procurement, I have allow'd her* 2000 l. *a year of the marqueſs's eſtate, becauſe they are ſufferers in* Ireland. *She's a wicked woman, and ſhall not have a farthing of it.* The lord *Broghill* ſeeing him angry, return'd a ſoft anſwer, which ſeldom fail'd to pacify him; and *humbly deſir'd to know what grounds he had for ſo ſevere a cenſure. Grounds enough*, reply'd the Protector: *There, read it* (giving him a letter) *'tis her own hand.* Lord *Broghill* looking upon it, ſaid, *It was not lady* Ormond's *hand, but the lady* Iſabella Thynn's, *between whom and the marqueſs there had been an intrigue. How will you prove it?* ſaid *Cromwell. Eaſily*, reply'd the other, *for I have ſome letters of that lady's by me*; which being ſhewn to the Protector, he was ſatisfy'd.

HAVING mention'd this inſtance of intelligence of lord *Ormond*'s being in town, it may be proper enough to inſert here what Biſhop *Burnet* ſays of *Cromwell*'s uſing Sir *Richard Willis* for a ſpy. "*Oliver*, ſays he, underſtood that one Sir *Richard Willis* was chancellor *Hyde*'s chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party ſubmitted. So he found a way to talk with him: He ſaid, *He did not intend to hurt any of the party, his deſign was rather to ſave them from ruin: They were apt, after their cups, to run into*

"*fooliſh*

" *fooliſh plots, which ſignify'd nothing but to ruin thoſe* 1656.
" *who were engag'd in them: He knew they conſulted*
" *him in every thing. All he deſir'd of him was to*
" *know thoſe plots, that he might ſo diſconcert them*
" *that none might ſuffer for them. If he clapt any of*
" *them up in priſon, it ſhould be only for a little time,*
" *and they ſhould be interrogated only about ſome tri-*
" *fling diſcourſe, but never about the buſineſs they had*
" *engag'd in.* He offer'd *Willis* whatever he would
" accept of, and to give it when, or as he pleas'd."
They ſtruck up a bargain, and none was truſted with this but his ſecretary *Thurloe*, who was a very dextrous man at getting intelligence. Thus *Cromwell* had all the King's party in a net: And the Biſhop tells us, he knew every thing that paſs'd in the King's little court, and yet not one of his ſpies was diſcover'd but *Manning*, who was ſhot to death in the territories of the Duke of *Newburgh*.

THE Protector having concluded the treaty with *France*, reſolv'd now on a vigorous proſecution of the war with *Spain*. For this purpoſe, admiral *Blake*, and *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, were order'd with a ſtrong navy to block up the port of *Cadiz*. Here they lay ſeveral weeks, but could not provoke the enemy to come out and fight, till want of water, and other neceſſaries, oblig'd them to ſail to *Wyers-bay* in *Portugal* for freſh ſupplies; captain *Stayner*, in the mean time, being left behind with ſeven ſhips; who, whilſt the commanders were gone to the foremention'd place, eſpy'd the *Spaniſh* plate-fleet making directly for *Cadiz*, and reſolved to fall upon it; which, with the *Speaker*, *Bridgwater* and *Plymouth* frigates, whilſt the reſt were behind, he ſo bravely perform'd, that in a few hours the whole fleet was quite ſpoil'd. One ſhip was ſunk, another burnt, in which the marquiſs of *Badajox*, vice-roy of *Mexico*, with his lady and eldeſt daughter, periſh'd in the flames; two were forç'd on grouud, one run away,

The *Spaniſh* plate-fleet deſtroy'd by the *Engliſh*.

1656. away, and two remain'd in the conqueror's hands; which being brought to *Portſmouth*, the bullion, to the value of above two millions, was there landed, and convey'd in carts to *London*, as a trophy and triumph of war.

A parliament reſolv'd on.

THE Protector being now in the height of his glory, reſolv'd to call a parliament; to which it is thought by ſome he could have no other motive or inducement, than to make a party for a crown, and get the title of KING conferr'd on him, which was the only thing he wanted; for as to the power of a King, he was really more formidable than any of the *Engliſh* Monarchs ever were. But others think the neceſſary expences of the *Spaniſh* war was the main occaſion of it. Whatever his deſign was, a parliament was to be ſummon'd, and writs were iſſued throughout the three nations for election of members for that purpoſe; in which all endeavours were us'd to hinder thoſe from being choſen, who were moſt likely to obſtruct the Protector's deſigns: For this reaſon the preſident *Bradſhaw*, Sir *Henry Vane*, lieutenant-general *Ludlow* and others were ſummon'd before the council; and after conſultation, upon their refuſing to give ſecurity not to act againſt the government, Sir *Henry Vane* was ſent priſoner to *Cariſbrook* caſtle, *Ludlow* was order'd to be taken into cuſtody, and *Bradſhaw*, though permitted to go his circuit, as chief juſtice of *Cheſter*, had letters ſent after him to deter perſons from giving their votes for him.

The Protector's diſcourſe with *Ludlow* at the council table.

HAVING mention'd lieutenant-general *Ludlow*'s being taken into cuſtody, I ſhall conclude this chapter with an account of what paſs'd between him and the Protector at the council-table, as previous thereunto. When he appear'd before the council according to ſummons, his Highneſs charg'd him with diſperſing treaſonable books in *Ireland*, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army diſaffected, by diſcourſing to them about new models

models of government. *Ludlow* confeſs'd, he had caus'd ſome papers to be diſpers'd in *Ireland*, but ſaid they could not juſtly be call'd treaſonable; and that though he knew not it was a crime to debate concerning forms of government, yet, to the beſt of his remembrance, he had not lately done any ſuch thing. The protector then told him, he was not ignorant of the many plots that were carrying on to diſturb the preſent power; and he thought it his duty to ſecure ſuch as he ſuſpected. To which *Ludlow* reply'd, that there were two duties requir'd by God of the magiſtrate, *viz.* To be a terror to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well; and whether his actions were good or bad, he was ready to ſubmit to a legal trial: That he knew no other way to ſecure the magiſtrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magiſtrate, but by both doing what is juſt and good. *You do well,* ſaid the Protector, *to reflect on our fears; yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from any motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foreſee and prevent danger; and had I done as I ſhould, I had ſecur'd you immediately upon your coming into* England, *or at leaſt when you deſir'd to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival: And therefore I now require you to give aſſurance not to act againſt the government.* The lieutenant-general deſir'd to be excus'd as to that, remembring him of the reaſons he had formerly given for his refuſal; and added, that he was in his power, and he might uſe him as he thought fit. *Pray then,* ſaid Cromwell, *what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you deſire more than you have? It were eaſy,* anſwer'd Ludlow, *to tell what we would have. What is that, I pray?* reply'd the Protector. *That which we fought for,* ſaid Ludlow, *That the nation might be governed by its own conſent. I am,* ſaid the other, *as much for a government by conſent*

1656.

1656. *conſent as any man; but where ſhall we find that conſent? amongſt the* prelatical, preſbyterian, independent, anabaptiſt, *or* levelling *parties?* To which Ludlow anſwer'd, *Amongſt thoſe of all ſorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the publick.* The Protector then fell to commending the preſent government, extolling the protection and quiet which the people enjoy'd under it; and ſaid, *he was reſolved to keep the nation from being imbru'd in blood. Ludlow* ſaid, He thought too much blood had been already ſhed, unleſs there were a better account of it. *You do well,* reply'd the Protector, *to charge us with the guilt of blood; but we think there is a good return for what hath been ſhed; and we underſtand what clandeſtine correſpondences are carrying on at this time between the* Spaniards *and thoſe of* your party, *who made uſe of your name, and affirm that you will own them and aſſiſt them. Ludlow* told him, he knew not what he meant by *his party,* and he could truly ſay, that if any had enter'd into an engagement with *Spain,* they had had no advice from him ſo to do; and if they would uſe his name, he could not help it. His Highneſs then in a ſofter way, told him, *That he deſir'd not to put any more hardſhips on him than on himſelf; that he had been always ready to do him all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aim'd at nothing by this proceeding but the publick quiet and ſecurity. Truly, Sir,* ſaid the other, *I know not why you ſhould be an enemy to me, who have been faithful to you in all your* Difficulties. Upon which the Protector ſaid, *I underſtand not what you mean by* my difficulties: *I am ſure they were not ſo properly mine as thoſe of the publick; for in reſpect to my outward condition, I have not much improv'd it, as theſe gentlemen* (pointing to his council) *well know.* To this they appear'd to aſſent, by riſing from their ſeats; and therefore *Ludlow* (as he tells us) thought fit not to inſiſt farther on that point; but contented himſelf

ſelf to ſay, that it was from that duty which he owed to the publick, whereof the Protector expreſs'd ſo great regard, that he durſt not give the ſecurity he deſir'd; apprehending it to be againſt the liberty of the people, and contrary to law: For proof of which he produc'd an act of parliament, "For reſtraining the council from impri-"ſoning any of the free-born people of *England*; "and if they ſhould do ſo, requiring the juſtices "of the *Upper Bench*, upon the application of the "aggrieved party, to grant his *Habeas Corpus*, and "give him conſiderable damages." *But*, ſaid the Protector, *did not the army and council of ſtate commit perſons to priſon?* To this *Ludlow* anſwered, that the council of ſtate did ſo, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the parliament; and if the army had ſometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the perſons ſecured to a legal trial. *A juſtice of peace*, ſaid Cromwell, *may commit, and ſhall not I? Ludlow* told him, a juſtice of peace was a legal officer, and authoriz'd by the law to do ſo; which he could not be though he were King, becauſe if he did wrong therein, no remedy could be had againſt him. *Therefore*, ſaid he, *if I have offended againſt the law, I deſire to be referred to a juſtice of the peace, that I may be proceeded with according to law; but if I have done nothing to deſerve a reſtraint, that then I may have my liberty.* Upon this, he was order'd to withdraw; and major-general *Lambert* advis'd, that he might be peremptorily requir'd to give the ſecurity demanded: But the Protector ſaid, *That the air of* Ireland *was good, that he had a houſe there, and therefore he thought it beſt to ſend him thither.* In the end, the lieutenant-general reſolutely refuſing to give the ſaid ſecurity, was order'd to be taken into cuſtody, as before related. 1656.

CHAP.

1656.

CHAP. VI.

From the meeting of his third PARLIAMENT, *to his being confirm'd* PROTECTOR *by the* Humble petition and advice.

1656. The opening of *Cromwell*'s third parliament.

ON the 17th day of *September*, the new parliament met his Highneſs the Lord Protector in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; where Dr. *John Owen*, vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, preach'd a ſermon on theſe words in *Iſaiah*, *What ſhall one then anſwer the meſſengers of the nation? That the Lord hath founded* Zion, *and the poor of his people ſhall truſt in it.* This being over, the Protector with the members went to the *Painted-chamber*, where he made a ſhort ſpeech to them, and then diſmiſs'd them to their houſe: But here they found a guard plac'd, and none were ſuffer'd to enter but ſuch as had certificates given them, in this form, *Theſe are to certify, that* A. B. *is return'd by indenture one of the members to ſerve in this preſent parliament, for*—— *and approv'd by his Highneſs's council.* By this means near a hundred members were excluded, who thereupon preſented a petition to the ſitting members, declaring, "That being choſen by the country to "ſerve with them, they were ready to diſcharge "their duty; but were prevented from doing ſo "by the power of the ſword, and refus'd admit-"tance into the houſe by a guard of ſoldiers." Upon this, a committee being ſent to the Protector and his council, return'd with this anſwer, "That "if the perſons complaining would apply them-"ſelves to them, they ſhould be reliev'd if there "was cauſe." The excluded members therefore ſeeing no redreſs, appeal'd to the people in a ſevere remonſtrance, or proteſtation, complaining, "That "the Lord protector had by force of arms inva-

Petition and remonſtrance of the excluded members.

"ded

" ded their fundamental right and liberty, and 1656.
" violently prevented the meeting of the people's
" choſen deputies in parliament; and concluding
" with an appeal to God and all the good people
" of *England* for aſſiſtance and protection in their
" ſervice, *&c.*"

THE ſitting members made choice of Sir *Thomas Widdrington* for their Speaker; and 'twas ſoon perceiv'd that they were diſpoſed to act according to the Protector's mind. On the firſt of *October* they reſolv'd, " That the war againſt the *Spaniards*
" was undertaken upon juſt and neceſſary grounds,
" and for the good of the people of the common-
" wealth; and that the parliament doth approve
" thereof, and will by God's bleſſing aſſiſt his
" Highneſs therein." They then proceeded to paſs ſeveral acts; as " 1. An act that paſſing of
" bills ſhould not determine this preſent ſeſſion of
" parliament. 2. An act for renouncing and diſ-
" annulling the pretended title of *Charles Stuart.*
" 3. An act for ſecurity of his Highneſs the Lord
" Protector his perſon, and continuance of the na-
" tion in peace and ſafety; whereby 'twas made
" high-treaſon to attempt, compaſs, or imagine
" the death of the Protector. 4. An act for tak-
" ing away the court of *Wards* and *Liveries.*
" 5. An act for the exportation of ſeveral com-
" modities of the breed, growth and manufacture
" of this commonwealth." And farther, to make good what they had reſolv'd, great ſums of money were granted to carry on the *Spaniſh* war. For this purpoſe, an act was paſs'd, " For an aſſeſſ-
" ment of 60,000 *l.* a month for three months up-
" on *England*; another for 5000 *l.* a month for
" the ſame time, on *Scotland*; and the ſame on
" *Ireland.*" There was alſo another act paſs'd,
" For 30,000 *l.* a month for *England*, 6000 *l.* a
" month for *Scotland*, and 9000 *l.* a month for
" *Ireland*, to be paid for three whole years next

The parliament's proceedings and acts.

1656. "enſuing." Another, "For continuing of ton-
"nage and poundage." And another (which was the revival of an old act) "For preventing mul-
"tiplicity of buildings in and about the *Suburbs*
"of *London*, and within ten miles thereof; a
"whole year's revenue to be preſently paid for all
"houſes which had been built upon new founda-
"tions ſince the year 1620."

THESE bills, with ſeveral others, were at ſeveral times paſs'd by the Protector, coming in ſtate as a Sovereign to the *Painted-chamber*. And when the money bills with ſome others were paſs'd, he made this ſhort ſpeech to the Speaker: "I per-
"ceive, that among theſe many acts of parliament,
"there hath been a very great care had by the par-
"liament, to provide for the juſt and neceſſary
"ſupport of the commonwealth, by theſe bills
"for levying of money now brought to me, which
"I have given my conſent unto: And underſtand-
"ing it hath been the practice of thoſe who have
"been chief governors, to acknowledge with
"thanks to the commons, their care and regard
"of the publick, I do very heartily and thankfully
"acknowledge their kindneſs herein."

The Protector's ſpeech to them at his paſſing of bills.

THE parliament had not ſat two months when the exorbitant power of the *major-generals* came under conſideration. The Protector had hitherto given them good words; but fearing they might in time eclipſe his own greatneſs, he was now for ſuppreſſing their authority. AND ſo Mr. *Cleypole* his ſon-in-law ſtood up (which was an unuſual thing with him) and told the houſe, "That he could
"but ſtart the game, and muſt leave thoſe who
"had more experience, to follow the chace; and
"therefore ſhould only ſay, that he had formerly
"thought it neceſſary, in reſpect to the condition
"in which the nation had been, that the *major-*
"*generals* ſhould be entruſted with the authority
"they had exercis'd; but in the preſent ſtate of
"affairs,

The *major generals* put down.

" affairs, he conceived it inconſiſtent with the laws 1656.
" of *England* and liberties of the people, to con-
" tinue their power any longer." This motion was a clear direction to the court party in the houſe; who being well aſſur'd, that *Cleypole* had deliver'd the ſenſe, if not the very words of the Protector therein, join'd as one man in oppoſing and aboliſhing the power of theſe *major-generals*.

Account of *James Naylor*.

ABOUT this time, one *James Naylor*, a late ſoldier under general *Lambert*, took upon him to perſonate our Saviour, reſembling his picture in his garb, hair, and looks. He went about with diſciples, and women miniſtring unto him, and enter'd the city of *Briſtol*, riding upon an aſs, his followers ſtrewing his way with leaves and boughs of trees, and crying, *Hoſanna, bleſſed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord*. He alſo pretended he could heal the ſick, raiſe the dead, and faſt forty days, and gave no other anſwer to any queſtion, but, *Thou haſt ſaid it*. The magiſtrates of *Briſtol* ſent him up to the parliament, who reſolv'd, " That " *James Naylor* was guilty of horrid blaſphemy, " and a great ſeducer of the people;" and inſtead of ſending him to *Bedlam*, which would have been the propereſt place for him, they ordered the Speaker to pronounce this ſevere ſentence againſt him, *viz.* " To ſtand in the pillory for two hours " at *Weſtminſter*; to be whipp'd by the hangman " from *Weſtminſter* to the *Old Exchange*, and there " to ſtand in the pillory two hours more; his " tongue to be bored through with a hot iron, " and his forehead ſtigmatiz'd with the letter *B*; " to be afterwards ſent to *Briſtol*, and convey'd " through the city on a horſe bare-back'd, and his " face backward, and his body whipp'd in the market-" place; to be brought back to *London*, and commit-" ted to priſon in *Bridewell*, and there to be kept from " all company, and to have no relief, but what he " ſhould earn from hard labour; and being debarr'd

1656. "the uſe of pen ink and paper, to be kept to conti-
"nual work, till he ſhould be diſcharged by the par-
"liament." *Whitelock* ſays, many thought he was too furiouſly proſecuted by ſome rigid men. And we muſt obſerve likewiſe, that the above account, which is the moſt uſual, that is given of his hereſies and blaſphemies, is denied by the body of *Quakers*, who repreſent him a plain man, of great zeal, and no great capacity.

Syndercomb's plot.

ABOUT this time, there was a new diſcovery made of a deſperate plot againſt the Protector's perſon; which made the acts paſs'd for his ſecurity be judg'd highly ſeaſonable. *Miles Syndercomb*, a *Leveller*, having been caſhier'd in *Scotland*, combin'd with one *Cecil* and one *Troop*, of his Highneſs's life-guard, to aſſaſſinate the Protector near *Brentford*, as he was going to *Hampton-Court*. *Syndercomb*, being betray'd by the other conſpirators, ſtoutly deny'd the plot, but was condemn'd upon the ſtatute of 25 *Edw.* III. the chief juſtice *Glynn* declaring it treaſon in caſe of a Protector, as well as a King, *ſince by the word King any chief magiſtrate was underſtood.* The priſoner was found dead, when the day appointed for his execution came; whereupon his body was dragg'd naked by a horſe's tail to the ſcaffold on *Tower-hill*, and there bury'd, with a ſtake driven through it. The Protector was very much diſturb'd at this accident; for inſtead of bringing this man to make ſome uſeful diſcovery to him, which he expected, he found himſelf under the reproach of cauſing him to be poiſoned, as being afraid to bring him to publick juſtice. However, a day of publick thankſgiving was appointed for the Protector's deliverance; when, after a ſermon at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, his Highneſs treated the Speaker and Members in the *Banqueting-houſe* at *Whitehall*, with more than ordinary marks of endearment.

ON the 6th of *February* there was a great meeting of learned men at *Whitelock*'s houſe at *Chelſea*, purſuant

purſuant to this order of parliament: *Ordered*, "That "it be referr'd to a committee to ſend for and adviſe "with Dr. *Walton*, Mr. *Hughes*, Mr. *Caſtle*, Mr. "*Clerk*, Mr. *Poulk*, Dr. *Cudworth*, and ſuch as "they ſhall think fit, and to conſider of the tranſ- "lations and impreſſions of the bible, and to offer "their opinions therein." And about a Week after, Dr. *Walton* publiſh'd the *Polyglott* bible. 1656.

1657.

THE parliament had ſat about ſix months, when the debate came on in the houſe about changing *Cromwell*'s title of *Protector* into that of *King*. A new *inſtrument* was drawn up, and read in the houſe, having a blank left for the title of the ſingle perſon, and two other blanks for two houſes of parliament. This was brought in by Mr. *Pack*, a rich alderman of *London*, who was ſuppos'd to be very much in the court intereſt; and when it came to be debated, 'twas ſharply oppos'd by the ſoldiers party in the houſe; who joining with the *Republicans*, fell ſo furiouſly upon *Pack* for his preſumption and unparliamentary proceeding, that they bore him down from the Speaker's chair to the bar of the houſe. But this heat laſted not long; for the lord *Broghill*, chief juſtice *Glynn*, and others who were privy to the main deſign, alledging, "That being maſters of their own reſolutions, "they might retain as much of this new form as "was good, and reject what was otherwiſe;" they by this means brought it to be debated: And tho' they met with ſome oppoſition therein, yet when it came to be put to the queſtion, they carried all before them, and grew ſo bold as to move, "That "the blank left for the inſertion of the title of the "chief magiſtrate might be fill'd up with the name "of *King*:" Which motion, tho' very much oppos'd by lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, was likewiſe carried, and the name voted, together with the filling up the two blanks left for the two houſes, with the words, *Houſe of Commons*, and *Other Houſe*.

Deſign of making *Cromwell* King.

The parliament vote him the title.

1657. THIS done, on the 4th of *April* they preſented this writing to the Lord Protector, which was ſtil'd, *The humble petition and advice of the parliament of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland *to his Highneſs*; at which time, the Speaker, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, made a ſpeech to him, recommending the title and office of a *King*, *as ſettled here with Chriſtianity itſelf, approv'd and retain'd by our anceſtors, and every way fitted to the laws and temper of the people of* England. The Protector, however inclinable he was to accept of this offer, yet finding it to be againſt the humour and bent of the army, and the chief officers of it, and that his ſon-in-law *Fleetwood*, and his brother-in-law *Deſborough* were particularly averſe to it, inſtead of a ready aſſent, thought fit to demur upon it; and the better to protract time, in hopes of gaining upon the officers, he deſired, "That a committee might be "appointed to confer with him, and to offer him "better knowledge and ſatisfaction in this great "cauſe."

And offer it to him.

He demurs upon it.

A COMMITTEE was accordingly appointed, which on *April* 11. met him in the *Painted-chamber*. *Whitelock* was chairman, and the chief ſpeakers beſides him were, the lord *Broghill*, chief juſtice *St. John*, chief juſtice *Glynn*, the lords commiſſioners *Fiennes* and *Liſle*, *Lenthal* maſter of the *Rolls*, Sir *Charles Wolſley*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, and colonel *Jones*. Theſe for two diſtinct days ſucceſſively entertained the Protector with long ſpeeches, endeavouring to perſuade him to accept of the title of *King*, which the parliament had offer'd him. Their arguments were principally theſe: "That "the name of a Protector, as he held it, was un-"known to the *Engliſh* conſtitution; but the title "of KING had the only foundation in the an-"cient and known laws of the nation, was inter-"woven with our laws, and ſuited to the genius of "the people: That it was the head from whence "all

A committee appointed to ſatisfy him.

" all the nerves and ſinews of the government pro- 1657.
" ceeded; and if a new head was put on, it was a
" queſtion, whether thoſe nerves and ſinews would
" grow and receive nouriſhment: That for him
" to take up the office of King, without the title, was
" to take it up with all the objections of ſcandal:
" That the *King*, the *Laws* of the nation, the *Li-*
" *berties* of the people, and alſo *Parliaments* them-
" ſelves, had but one foundation, and that the end
" of the late war was not to deſtroy *Kingſhip*, as
" appeared by ſix or ſeven of the parliament's de-
" clarations, one of which was ordered to be read
" in all churches." His Highneſs anſwer'd,
" That theſe arguments were cogent, but not ſa-
" tisfactory; that the title of Protector might be
" adapted to the laws; that providence was againſt
" them, that had already altered the name; and
" that he were much to be blamed, if he ſhould
" diſpleaſe ſo many pious and religious men, who
" would take offence at ſuch a proceeding." The
committee reply'd, " That the title ought to be
" accommodated to the laws, and not the laws to
" the title: That the innovation of title was
" ſuſpected, as being the cover of hidden tyranny,
" and that the inconveniences of ſuch change were
" not preſently felt; for which very reaſon, it was
" by the parliament deny'd to King *James*, when
" he came firſt to this kingdom, to change the ti-
" tle of King of *England* and *Scotland*, into that of
" *Great Britain:* That by refuſing the title of
" *King*, he would not ſo much derogate from his
" own honour, as from the nation's, for whoſe
" honour it was to have a *King* for the ſupreme
" governor: That under the name of Protector
" was never deſign'd the ſupreme moderator, but
" a temporary officer for guarding the King in
" his minority, and adminiſtring of the kingdom;
" and that generally ſuch had been unfortunate:
" That that appellation having at this time ſprung

1657. " from the ſoldiers, favour'd of conqueſt, and " might with very good reaſon be reſcinded by " the parliament. That without the title of King " the government would be unſtable and flitting, " and would not long ſtand, being on a tottering " foundation; as it had been chang'd three or four " times in theſe five years, and did ſtill fluctuate: " That this had been the great encouragement of " thoſe attempts againſt his perſon, that the law did " not take notice of him as chief magiſtrate; " and that juries were generally backward in " finding any guilty of treaſon upon that account: " But by the laws made in *Edward* IV. and *Henry* " VII's time, whatever was done by a *King in poſ-* " *ſeſſion*, was good and valid, and all that ſerv'd " under him were ſafe and exempt from puniſh- " ment. By thoſe laws his enemies had hitherto " pleaded indemnity, but by his aſſuming what " was deſir'd, thoſe laws they pretended for their " diſobedience, would tie them, even by their own " principles, to obedience. That tho' part of the " long parliament had taken away *Kingſhip*, yet " now it was ſet up again by a fuller repreſenta- " tive of three nations; and ſince the parliament " of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, had advis'd " and deſir'd him to take upon him the title of " *King*, he ought not in reaſon and equity to re- " fuſe it. That Providence was no leſs conſpicu- " ous in turning the government again into mo- " narchy, for avoiding confuſion, and bridling the " tumults of the people, than in changing the " name of *Monarchy* into *Protectorſhip:* And that " good and pious men would acquieſce in the de- " cree of the parliament, altho' perhaps they might " ſeem privately to differ." In the end, his High-neſs gratefully acknowledg'd the kindneſs of the offer, but would not give a preſent anſwer, acquainting the committee, " That he would con- " ſider of all they had ſaid, and *ſeek to God* for " counſel;

He ſtill demurs.

" counſel; and then he would ſend for them, and " declare his reſolution." 1657.

THE Protector was now under great difficulties and diſtraction of mind, and many days paſs'd before he could come to a reſolution in this weighty affair. Whilſt this buſineſs was in agitation, the Lord *Broghill* (afterwards Earl of *Orrery*) as Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, coming one day to *Cromwell*, and telling him he had been in the city, the Protector enquir'd of him, *What news he had heard there?* The Lord *Orrery* told him, *He had heard he was in treaty with the King, who was to be reſtor'd, and to marry his daughter.* *Cromwell* ſhewing no diſpleaſure at this, the Earl ſaid, *In the ſtate to which things were reduced, he could ſee no better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleaſed; and his Highneſs might retain the ſame authority he then had, with leſs trouble.* To this *Cromwell* anſwer'd, *The King can never forgive his Father's blood.* The Earl reply'd, *He was one of many that were concern'd in that, but he would be alone in the merit of reſtoring him:* Upon which the Protector ſaid, *He is ſo damnably debauch'd, he would undo us all*; and ſo went off to other diſcourſe without any emotion; which made his lordſhip conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

A remarkable conference between him and the Earl of *Orrery*.

THE Protector in the mean time kept himſelf on ſuch a reſerve, that no man knew what anſwer he would give to the parliament's offer, tho' 'twas thought moſt likely that he would accept of it. He, as *Ludlow* informs us, endeavour'd by all poſſible means to perſuade the officers of the army to approve the deſign; for which purpoſe he one time invited himſelf to dine with colonel *Deſborough*, and carried lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* with him. He began to droll with them about *Monarchy*, and ſpeaking ſlight of it, ſaid, *It was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore he wonder'd that men would not pleaſe the children, and let them enjoy their rattle.* But they

He endeavours to gain the army.

1657. they being very ſerious upon the matter, aſſur'd him, *That there was more in it than he perceiv'd: That thoſe who put him upon it were no enemies to* Charles Stuart; *and if he accepted of it, he would draw inevitable ruin on himſelf and friends.* Having thus ſounded them, that he might conclude as he began, he told them, *They were a couple of ſcrupulous fellows,* and ſo went away. At another time entring more ſeriouſly into debate with theſe two, he ſaid, *It was a tempting of God to expoſe ſo many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to ſecure them.* But they inſiſting upon the oaths they had taken, he reply'd, *That theſe oaths were againſt the power and tyranny of Kings, but not againſt the four letters that made the word* KING.

THE next day, his Highneſs ſent a meſſage to the houſe, requiring their attendance to-morrow morning in the *Painted Chamber*, intending, as all men thought, there to declare his acceptance of the crown: But in the mean time meeting with his brother *Deſborough*, as he was walking in the park, and acquainting him with his reſolution, he receiv'd this anſwer from him, *That then he gave the cauſe, and his family alſo for loſt; and tho' he reſolv'd never to act againſt him, yet he would not act for him after that time.* And ſo after ſome farther diſcourſe, *Deſborough* went home, and there found colonel *Pride*, whom the protector had knighted; and imparting to him his Highneſs's intention to accept the title of *King*, *Pride* immediately anſwer'd, *He ſhall not. Deſborough* aſk'd him, *How he would hinder it?* Whereupon *Pride* ſaid, *Get me a petition drawn and I will prevent it.* And ſo they both went to Dr. *Owen*, and prevail'd on him to draw a petition according to their mind.

THE next morning, the houſe being met, ſome officers of the army coming to the parliament door, ſent in a meſſage to colonel *Deſborough*, to let him known that they had a petition, and deſir'd him

him to preſnt it to the houſe. But he knowing the contents of it, and thinking it not proper for him to take publick notice of it before it was preſented, inform'd the houſe, that certain officers of the army had a petition to preſent to them; and mov'd that they ſhould be call'd in, and have leave to preſent it with their own hands; which the houſe generally agreed to, not thinking the army would oppoſe their deſigns. And ſo the petition being deliver'd by lieutenant-colonel *Maſon*, was read in the houſe, and was to this effect; "That "they had hazarded their lives againſt Monarchy, "and were ſtill ready ſo to do, in defence of the "liberties of the nation: That having obſerv'd in "ſome men great endeavours to bring the nation "again under their old ſervitude, by preſſing their "General to take upon him the title and govern- "ment of *King*, in order to deſtroy him, and "weaken the hands of thoſe who were faithful to "the publick; they therefore humbly deſir'd that "they would diſcountenance all ſuch perſons and "endeavours, and continue ſtedfaſt to the old "cauſe, for the preſervation of which they, for "their parts, were moſt ready to lay down their "lives."

1657.

Their petition againſt making him King.

'Tis hard to ſay whether the Parliament or the Protector was moſt ſurpriz'd at this unexpected addreſs. As ſoon as his highneſs heard of it, he ſent for his ſon-in-law *Fleetwood*, and told him, *That he wonder'd he would ſuffer ſuch a petition to proceed ſo far, which he might have hinder'd, ſince he knew it to be his reſolution not to accept the crown without the conſent of the army; and therefore he deſir'd him to haſten to the houſe, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein.* Accordingly the lieutenant-general went immediately thither, and told them, "That the petition ought not to "be debated, much leſs to be anſwer'd, at this "time, the contents of it being to deſire them

"not

1657. " not to preſs his Highneſs to be *King*; whereas " the preſent buſineſs was to receive his anſwer to " what had been formerly offer'd to him; and " therefore he deſir'd that the debate of it might " be put off, till they had received his anſwer." The houſe having agreed to this, receiv'd a meſſage from the Protector, that inſtead of meeting him in the *Painted Chamber*, where he us'd to ſpeak to them, they would meet him in the *Banqueting-houſe*; whither being accordingly come, his Highneſs made a broken kind of ſpeech to them, as follows:

His ſpeech to the parliament.

" MR. SPEAKER, I came hither to anſwer that " that was in your laſt paper to your committee " you ſent to me, which was in relation to the " deſires which were offered to me by the houſe, " in that they call'd their petition. I confeſs " that buſineſs hath put the houſe, the parlia- " ment, to a great deal of trouble, and ſpent " much time; I am very ſorry, that it hath coſt " me ſome and ſome thoughts; and becauſe I " have been the unhappy occaſion of the expence " of ſo much time, I ſhall ſpend little of it now. " I have, the beſt I can, revolv'd the whole bu- " ſineſs in my thoughts, and I have ſaid ſo much " already in teſtimony of the whole, that I think " I ſhall not need to repeat any thing that I have " ſaid. I think it is a government, that the aims " of it ſeeks much a ſettling the nation on a good " foot in relation to civil rights and liberties, " which are the rights of the nation; and I hope " I ſhall never be found to be of them that ſhall " go about to rob the nation of thoſe rights, but " to ſerve them what I can to the attaining of " them. It hath alſo exceeding well provided for " the ſafety and ſecurity of honeſt men, in that " great, natural, and religious liberty, which is " liberty of conſcience. Theſe are great funda- " mentals, and I muſt bear my teſtimony to them

" (as

" (as I have and ſhall do ſtill, ſo long as God lets 1657.
" me live in this world) that the intentions of the
" things are very honourable and honeſt, and the
" product worthy of a parliament: I have only
" had the unhappineſs both in my conferences
" with your committees, and in the beſt thoughts
" I could take to myſelf, not to be convicted of
" the neceſſity of that thing, that hath been in-
" ſiſted upon by you, to wit, the title of *King*, as
" in itſelf ſo neceſſary, as it ſeems to be appre-
" hended by yourſelves; and I do, with all ho-
" nour and reſpect to the judgment of the parlia-
" ment, teſtify that (*cæteris paribus*) no private
" judgment is to lie in the balance with the judg-
" ment of a parliament: But in things that re-
" ſpect particular perſons, every man, that is to
" give an account to God of his actions, muſt in
" ſome meaſure be able to prove his own work,
" and to have an approbation in his own conſci-
" ence of that he is to do, or forbear; and whilſt
" you are granting others liberties, ſurely you will
" not deny me this, it being not only a liberty,
" but a duty (and ſuch a duty as I cannot without
" ſinning forbear) to examine my own heart, and
" thoughts, and judgment, in every work which
" I am to ſet mine hand to, or to appear in or
" for.

" I MUST confeſs, therefore, that though I do
" acknowledge all the other, yet I muſt be a lit-
" tle confident in this; that what with the cir-
" cumſtances that accompany human actions, whe-
" ther they be circumſtances of time, or perſons,
" whether circumſtances that relate to the whole,
" or private or particular circumſtances that con-
" cern any perſon, that is to render an account
" of his own actions; I have truly thought, and
" do ſtill think, that if I ſhould (at the beſt) do
" any thing on this account to anſwer your ex-
" pectation, it would be at the beſt doubtingly:

" and

1657. " and certainly what is ſo, is not of faith; *what-*
" *ſoever is not of faith is ſin* to him that doth it,
" whether it be with relation to the ſubſtance of
" the action, about which the conſideration is
" converſant, or whether to circumſtances about
" it, which make all think indifferent actions
" good or evil to him that doth it. I lying un-
" der this conſideration, think it my duty, only
" I could have wiſh'd I had done it ſooner, for
" the ſake of the houſe, who have laid ſo infi-
" nite obligations on me; I wiſh I had done it
" ſooner for your ſake, for ſaving time and trou-
" ble; and indeed for the committee's ſake, to
" whom I muſt acknowledge publickly I have
" been unſeaſonably troubleſome; I ſay, I could
" have wiſh'd I had given it ſooner; but truly
" this is my anſwer, That although I think the
" government doth conſiſt of very excellent parts
" in all but that one thing, the *Title*; as to me,
" I ſhould not be an honeſt man, if I ſhould not
He refuſes the title. " tell you, that I cannot accept of the govern-
" ment, nor undertake the trouble and charge of
" it, which I have a little more experimented
" than every man, what troubles and difficulties
" do befal men under ſuch truſts and in ſuch un-
" dertakings; I ſay, I am perſuaded to return
" this anſwer to you, *That I cannot undertake this*
" *government with the title of a* KING: And that
" is mine anſwer to this great and weighty bu-
" ſineſs."

A digreſſion, concerning a noble deſign of his in favour of the proteſtant religion.

THUS *Cromwell*, on the 8th of *May*, refus'd the title of *King*. And here we muſt not omit a great deſign of his, which he had purpos'd to begin his Kingſhip with, in caſe he had aſſum'd it; as 'twas related to Biſhop *Burnet* by one *Stoupe*, a *Griſon* by birth, and much truſted by *Cromwell* in foreign affairs. The deſign was, to ſet up a council for the *Proteſtant* religion, in oppoſition to the congregation *de propaganda fide*, at

at *Rome*. His Highneſs intended it ſhould conſiſt of ſeven counſellors, and four ſecretaries for different provinces. The firſt province was to be, *France*, *Switzerland*, and the *Valleys*; the ſecond, the *Palatinate* and the other *Calviniſts*; the third, *Germany*, the *North*, and *Turkey*; and the fourth, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. The ſecretaries were to have each 500*l.* ſalary, and to keep a correſpondence every where, to be inform'd of the ſtate of religion all over the world, that all good deſigns by their means might be promoted. A fund of 10000*l.* *per Annum* was to be at their diſpoſal for ordinary emergencies; but they were farther to be ſupply'd as there was occaſion. *Chelſea* college was to be fitted up for them, being then an old decay'd building, which had been at firſt erected for writers of controverſy. The Biſhop concludes the account thus: "I thought "it was not fit to let ſuch a project as this be "quite loſt: It was certainly a noble one: But "how far he would have purſu'd it, muſt be left "to conjecture." 1657.

He is confirm'd *Protector* by the *humble Petition and Advice* of the parliament.

To return; *Cromwell* having refus'd the title of *King*, the parliament ſoon voted, "That he "ſhould enjoy the title and authority he had al-"ready;" which was in many particulars enlarged beyond what it was by the former *Inſtrument*, by the new one, call'd *The humble petition and advice*. This inſtrument conſiſted of eighteen articles; but I ſhall only give the ſubſtance of the chief ones, as follows: "That his Highneſs under the title "of *Lord Protector*, would be pleas'd to exerciſe "the office of chief magiſtrate over *England*, "*Scotland*, and *Ireland*, *&c.* and to govern ac-"cording to all things in this *petition and advice*: "Alſo, that in his life-time he would appoint "the perſon that ſhould ſucceed in the govern-"ment after his death. That he would call par-"liaments conſiſting of *two houſes*, once in three "years

The ſubſtance of it.

1657. " years at fartheſt. That thoſe perſons who were " legally choſen by a free election of the people " to ſerve in parliament, might not be excluded " from doing their duties, but by conſent of that " houſe whereof they were members. That none " but thoſe under the qualifications therein men- " tion'd, ſhould be capable to ſerve as members " in parliament. That the power of the *other* " *houſe* be limited as therein preſcrib'd. That " the laws and ſtatutes of the land be obſerv'd " and kept; and no laws altered, ſuſpended, ab- " rogated, or repealed, or new laws made, but " by act of parliament. That the yearly ſum " of a million of pounds ſterling be for the main- " tenance of the navy and army; and three hun- " dred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the " government, beſides other temporary ſupplies, " as the commons in parliament ſhould ſee ne- " ceſſary. That the number of the Protector's " council ſhould not be above one and twenty; " whereof the *quorum* to be ſeven and not un- " der. The chief officers of ſtate, as chancellors, " keepers of the great ſeal, *&c.* to be approved " by parliament. That his Highneſs would en- " courage a godly miniſtry in theſe nations; and " that ſuch as do revile or diſturb them in the " worſhip of God, may be puniſhed according to " law; and where the laws are defective, new " ones to be made in that behalf. That the pro- " teſtant Chriſtian religion, as it is contained in " the *Old and New Teſtaments*, be aſſerted and " held forth for the publick profeſſion of theſe " nations; and no other; and that a *confeſſion of* " *faith* be agreed upon and recommended to the " people of theſe nations; and none be permit- " ted by words or writings, to revile or reproach " the ſaid *confeſſion of faith*, &c."

The preamble of it.

THE preamble to this *petition* was in theſe words: " We the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes in this " preſent

" preſent parliament aſſembled, taking into our 1657.
" moſt ſerious conſideration the preſent ſtate of
" theſe three nations, joined and united under
" your Highneſs's *protection*, cannot but in the
" firſt place with all thankfulneſs acknowledge
" the wonderful mercy of Almighty God, in de-
" livering us from the tyranny and bondage, both
" in our ſpiritual and civil concernments, which
" the late *King* and his party deſigned to bring us
" under, and purſu'd the effecting thereof by a long
" and bloody war: And alſo that it hath pleaſed
" God to preſerve *your perſon* in many battles, to
" make you an inſtrument for preſerving our
" peace, altho' eviron'd with enemies abroad,
" and filled with turbulent, reſtleſs, and unquiet
" ſpirits in our own bowels; and as in the tread-
" ing down the common enemy, and reſtoring
" us to peace and tranquility, the Lord hath us'd
" you ſo eminently, and the worthy officers and
" ſoldiers of the army (whoſe faithfulneſs to the
" common cauſe we and all good men ſhall ever
" acknowledge, and put a juſt value upon;) ſo
" alſo that he will uſe you and them in the ſettle-
" ment and ſecuring our *liberties* as we are men
" and Chriſtians, to us and our poſterity after us;
" which are thoſe great and glorious ends, which
" the good people of theſe nations have ſo freely,
" with the hazard of their lives and eſtates, ſo
" long and earneſtly contended for. We conſider
" likewiſe the continual danger which your life is
" in, from the bloody practices both of the *ma-*
" *lignant* and *diſcontented* party (one whereof,
" through the goodneſs of God, you have been
" lately deliver'd from) it being a received prin-
" ciple amongſt them, that no order being ſettled
" in your life-time for the ſucceſſion in the govern-
" ment, nothing is wanting to bring us into blood
" and confuſion, and them to their deſired ends,
" but the deſtruction of *your perſon*: And in caſe

1657. "things ſhould thus remain at your death, we "are not able to expreſs what calamities would "in all human probability enſue thereupon; which "we truſt *your Highneſs* (as well as we) do hold "your ſelf obliged to provide againſt, and not "to leave a people, whoſe common peace and "intereſt you are entruſted with, in ſuch a con-"dition as may hazard both, eſpecially in this "conjuncture, when there ſeems to be an oppor-"tunity of coming to a ſettlement upon juſt and "legal foundations. Upon theſe conſiderations, "we have judg'd it a duty incumbent upon us to "preſent and declare theſe our moſt juſt and ne-"ceſſary *deſires* to your Highneſs."

THIS Inſtrument being digeſted and agreed upon, the houſe ſent to the Protector for an audience; which he appointed to be on the 25th of *May*, in the *Banqueting-houſe*. The members waiting upon him accordingly, their Speaker *Widdrington* preſented and read the ſaid Inſtrument to him, and deſir'd his aſſent; which, after a long pauſe, he with all the geſtures of concern and perplexity, granted; and then declar'd to them as follows:

He paſſes it, and makes a ſpeech to the members.

"That he came thither that day, not as to a tri-"umph, but with the moſt ſerious thoughts that "ever he had in all his life, being to undertake "one of the greateſt burdens that ever was laid "upon the back of any human creature; ſo that "without the ſupport of the Almighty, he muſt "ſink under the weight of it, to the damage and "prejudice of theſe nations. This being ſo, he "muſt aſk help of the parliament, and of thoſe "that fear God, that by their prayers he might "receive aſſiſtance from God; for nothing elſe "could enable him to diſcharge ſo great a duty "and truſt. That ſeeing this was but an intro-"duction to the carrying on of the government of "theſe nations, and there were many things which "could not be ſupply'd without the aſſiſtance of "parliament,

" parliament, it was his duty to aſk their help in " them: Not that he doubted; for the ſame ſpi- " rit that had led the parliament to this, would " eaſily ſuggeſt the reſt to them. For his part, " nothing would have induc'd him to take this un- " ſupportable burden to fleſh and blood, but that " he had ſeen in the parliament a great care in do- " ing thoſe things which might really anſwer the " ends that they had engag'd for, and make clear- " ly for the liberty of the nation, and for the in- " tereſt and preſervation of all ſuch as fear God " under various forms: And if theſe nations were " not thankful to them for their care therein, it " would fall as a ſin upon their heads. That yet " there were ſome things wanting that tended to " reformation, to the diſcountenancing vice and " the encouragement of virtue; but he ſpake not " this as in the leaſt doubting their progreſs, but " as one that did heartily deſire, to the end that " God might crown their work, that in their own " time, and with what ſpeed they judg'd fit, thoſe " things might be provided for." The ſpeech be- ing ended, the members return'd again to their houſe. And thus did his Highneſs accompliſh a chief part of what he deſign'd, which was to have his power and authority confirm'd by parliament. 1657.

CHAP. VII.

From his being confirm'd Protector *by the Parliament's* Humble Petition and Advice, *to his Death. Concluding with ſome Account of his* Character, *and his pompous* Funeral.

CROMWELL having thus accepted of the government from the hands of the parliament, 'twas thought fit he ſhould have a ſolemn *Inauguration*; which was accordingly appointed to be on the 26th of *June*, and the houſe order'd the maſter His ſolemn *Inauguration.*

1657. of the ceremonies to give notice thereof to all foreign ambaſſadors and miniſters. *Weſtminſter-hall* was prepared for this ſolemnity, and adorn'd and beautify'd as ſumptuouſly as it could be for a *Coronation*. At the upper end there was an aſcent raiſed, where a chair and canopy of ſtate were ſet, and a table with another chair for the Speaker; and ſeats were likewiſe built up for the members of parliament, the judges and officers, and for the lord-mayor and aldermen of *London*. All things being prepar'd, the Lord Protector came out of a room adjoining to the Lords houſe (having come thither from *Whitehall* by water) and in this order proceeded into the hall. Firſt went his gentlemen, then a herald; next the aldermen, another herald, and the attorney-general; then the judges; then *Norroy* king at arms, the Lords commiſſioners of the ſeal, and of the treaſury; then *Garter* king at arms, and after him the Earl of *Warwick* carrying the ſword bare-headed before the Protector, and the Lord-mayor *Tichburn* carrying the city ſword. His Highneſs ſtanding up under a cloth of ſtate, the Speaker of the parliament made the following ſpeech to him.

The Speaker's ſpeech to him.

" *MAY it pleaſe your Highneſs*, You are now " upon a great theatre, in a large choir of peo- " ple: You have the parliament of *England*, *Scot-* " *land* and *Ireland* before you: On your right " hand, my Lords the judges; and on your left " hand the Lord-mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs of " *London*, the moſt noble and populous city of " *England*. The parliament with the interpoſition " of your ſuffrage makes laws; and the judges " and governors of *London* are the great diſpen- " ſers of thoſe laws to the people. The occaſion " of this convention and intercourſe, is to give an " *inveſtiture* to your Highneſs in that eminent place " of *Lord Protector*; a name which you had be- " fore, but it is now ſettled by the full unanimous

" conſent

" conſent of the people of theſe three nations aſ- 1657.
" ſembled in parliament: You have no new name,
" but a new date added to the old name; the ſix-
" teenth of *December* is now changed to the twen-
" ty-ſixth of *June*."

THEN he ſaid, he was commanded by the parliament to make oblation to his Highneſs of four things in order to his inauguration. At which, being aſſiſted by the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Whitelock*, he veſted his Highneſs with a robe of purple-velvet lin'd with ermines; telling him, *It was an emblem of magiſtracy, and imported righteouſneſs and juſtice.* Then he preſented him with a bible, richly gilt and boſs'd with gold, and told him, *It was a book that contain'd the holy ſcriptures, in which he had the happineſs to be well vers'd; it was a book of books, and contain'd both precepts and examples for good government.* Next he put in his hand a ſcepter of maſſy gold, ſaying, *Here is a ſcepter, not unlike a ſtaff; for you are to be a ſtaff to the weak and poor.* Laſtly, he girt him with a very rich ſword, with this comment, *This is not a military, but a civil ſword; it is a ſword rather of defence than offence, not only to defend yourſelf, but alſo your people.* Then his Highneſs took an oath, to govern the people of theſe three nations according to law, *&c.* Which done, Mr. *Manton* pray'd, recommending his *Highneſs*, the *parliament*, the *council*, the forces by land and ſea, and the whole government and people of the three nations to the bleſſing and protection of God. Then the trumpets ſounded, and an herald proclaimed his Highneſs's title, and all was concluded with the loud acclamations of the people, *God ſave the Lord Protector.* The ceremonies being ended, his Highneſs with his train return'd to *Whitehall*, and the members to their houſe, where they adjourn'd their ſitting to the 20th of *January* next. There was a fine medal ſtruck on the occaſion of the Protector's

1657. inauguration, perform'd by that excellent graver *Simmonds*; which had on one ſide the buſt of *Oliver*, and round it, *Oliver D. G. R. P. Ang. Sco. Hiberniæ Protector.* On the reverſe was an olive-tree flouriſhing in a field, with this round it, *Non deficient Olivæ, Sept.* 3. 1657.

Bills paſs'd by him.

"THE bills paſſed by the Lord protector this ſeſſion, beſides thoſe already mention'd, were, "1. An act *for limiting and ſetting the prices for* "*wines.* 2. An act *for the taking away of pur-* "*veyance, and compoſitions for purveyance.* 3. An "act *againſt vagrants, and wandering, idle, diſ-* "*ſolute perſons.* 4. An act *giving licence for* "*tranſporting fiſh in foreign bottoms.* 5. An act "*for quiet enjoying of ſequeſtered parſonages and* "*vicarages, by the preſent incumbents.* 6. An act "*for diſcovering, convicting, and repreſſing of* Po-"piſh *recuſants.* 7. An act *for puniſhing of ſuch* "*perſons as live at high rates, and have no viſi-* "*ble eſtate, profeſſion, or calling anſwerable there-* "*unto.* 8. An act *for indemnifying of ſuch per-* "*ſons as have acted for the ſervice of the publick.* "9. An act *for the better obſervation of the* "Lord's-day. 10. An act *for the better ſuppreſ-* "*ſing of theft upon the borders of* England *and* "Scotland, *and for diſcovery of highway-men and* "*other felons.* 11. An act *for the improvement of* "*the revenue of the cuſtoms and exciſe.* 12. An "act *for the aſſuring, confirming, and ſettling of* "*lands and eſtates in* Ireland. 13. An act *for the* "*attainder of the rebels in* Ireland. 14. An act "*for the ſettling of the poſtage of* England, Scot-"land *and* Ireland."

Lambert diſguſted and removed.

LUDLOW tells us, that the next day after the ſolemnity of the inauguration, there was a feaſt prepar'd for the aſſembly and officers of the army; at which 'twas obſerv'd major-general *Lambert* was not preſent; which occaſion'd many to ſuſpect he was declining in favour for obſtruct-

ing

ing *Cromwell*'s deſign of being King; for he ſays he was credibily inform'd, that when that buſineſs was on foot, the major-general took the liberty to tell *Cromwell*, *That if he accepted the crown, he could not aſſure the army to him.* Or perhaps he was diſguſted at the Protector's reſerving to himſelf the naming of his ſucceſſor in the government. Some time after, upon the major-general's refuſing to take the oath, enjoin'd by the *humble petition and advice*, not to do any thing againſt the preſent government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the law of the land; his Highneſs ſent for him, and told him, *He was well aſſur'd his refuſal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for he might remember, that he himſelf did at the firſt preſs him to accept the title of* King; *and therefore if he was now diſſatisfy'd with the preſent poſture of affairs, he deſir'd him to ſurrender his commiſſion.* To this *Lambert* anſwer'd, *That having no ſuſpicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleas'd to ſend for it, he ſhould deliver it*; which two or three days after was accordingly done. But the Protector not thinking it ſafe to diſguſt him entirely, allow'd him a penſion of 2000*l.* a year, to keep him from any deſperate undertaking. 1657.

THE Protector, now in the height of his grandeur and power, met with one very great misfortune, by the death of his valiant and victorious admiral *Blake*, after his having added one very ſignal exploit more this year to his other glories. Having rode out all the winter ſtorms before *Cadiz* and the coaſt of *Portugal*, he received certain intelligence, that another *Spaniſh* plate-fleet, much richer than the former, was coming home; and for fear of the *Engliſh* fleet had put into the bay of *Sancta Cruz* in the iſland of *Teneriff*, one of the *Canaries*. Upon this *Blake* with his fleet weigh'd anchor, *April* 13, and by the 20th ſtood off the *Offing* of

The remarkable ſucceſs of admiral *Blake* at *Sancta Cruz*.

1657. the ſaid bay; where he accordingly found the galleons arriv'd, to the number of ſixteen men of war. The bay was ſecur'd by a ſtrong caſtle well furniſh'd with great ordnance, beſides ſeven forts more in ſeveral parts of it, mounted with ſix, four and three great guns a-piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was mann'd with muſqueteers. Don *Diego Diagues*, the *Spaniſh* admiral, caus'd all his ſmaller ſhips to moor cloſe to the ſhoar, cover'd by the caſtles and forts, and poſted the ſix large galleons farther off at anchor, with their formidable broadſides to the ſea. A *Dutch* merchantman was at this time in the bay, the maſter whereof perceiving the *Engliſh* were ready to enter, and that a combat would preſently enſue, deſired Don *Diego*'s leave to depart: *For*, ſaid he, *I am very ſure*, Blake *will preſently be amongſt us*; to which the Don reſolutely anſwer'd, *Get you gone if you will, and let* Blake *come if he dares.*

BLAKE having call'd a council of war, and finding it impracticable to carry off the galleons, reſolved to burn them all: To which end, he firſt order'd the brave captain *Stayner*, in the *Speaker* frigate, with a ſquadron to ſtand into the very bay; who by eight the next morning fell furiouſly upon the *Spaniards*, without the leaſt regard to their forts, and fought them almoſt an hour. The admiral ſeconding him, poſted ſome of the larger ſhips to cannonade the caſtle and forts; which play'd their parts ſo well, that the enemy after ſome time was forced to leave them. *Blake* for the ſpace of four hours engaged the galleons, which made a brave reſiſtance, but were at laſt abandon'd by the enemy; as were likewiſe the ſmaller veſſels which lay under the forts, which were burnt by *Stayner*, whilſt *Blake* did the ſame by the large galleons; ſo that this whole plate-fleet, of ineſtimable value, was utterly deſtroy'd; and,

and, which is very remarkable, as ſoon as ever the action was over, the wind, which before blew ſtrong into the bay, on a ſudden veer'd about, and brought *Blake* with his fleet out to ſea, without the loſs of one ſhip, and with no more than forty-eight men kill'd, and a hundred and twenty wounded. The news of this brave and unparallel'd action being brought to *England* before the end of the ſeſſion, the parliament order'd a day of thankſgiving for this great ſucceſs; and the Lord Protector, at their deſire, ſent the admiral a diamond ring of 500*l.* value, and knighted *Stayner* at his return to *England*. 1657.

His death and character.

BLAKE, after this noble exploit, ſail'd back to *Spain*, where after having kept all their ſhips and ports in awe, he return'd for *England*. But falling ſick of a fever, he died in the 59th year of his age, juſt as the fleet was entering into *Plymouth* ſound; where he paſſionately enquir'd for the land, but found his own element the more proper bed of honour. He had a publick funeral ſolemnly and juſtly beſtow'd upon him, and the honour of being interr'd in *Henry* VIIth's chappel. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "He was the firſt man that declin'd "the old track, and made it manifeſt, that the "(naval) ſcience might be attain'd in leſs time "than was imagin'd; and deſpis'd thoſe rules "which had been long in practice, to keep his "ſhips and his men out of danger, which had "been held in former times a point of great "ability and circumſpection; as if the principal "art requiſite in the captain of a ſhip had been "to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was "the firſt man who brought ſhips to contemn "caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever "very formidable, and were diſcover'd by him "to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who "could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt "that infus'd that proportion of courage into the "ſeamen,

1657. "ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience, "what mighty things they could do, if they were "reſolv'd; and taught them to fight in fire as "well as upon water: And tho' he hath been very "well imitated and follow'd, he was the firſt that "gave the example of that kind of naval courage, "and bold and reſolute atchievements."

He had a very great regard to the honour of his country, and the *Engliſh* dominion of the ſeas. He endeavour'd to preſerve peace and unity among his ſeamen, by telling them, "That they "ſhould not liſten to any news from land, nor "mind the changes in the government, but re-"member that the fleet was *Engliſh*, and that "their enemies were foreigners; and therefore "they muſt fight for the honour of the *Engliſh* "nation." One inſtance of his care to preſerve the honour of his country, mention'd by Biſhop *Burnet*, I cannot omit. He ſays, that *Blake* happening to be at *Malaga* with the fleet, before *Cromwell* made war upon *Spain*, ſome of his ſeamen going aſhore, met the *hoſt*, as it was carrying about, and not only refus'd to pay any honour to it, but laugh'd at thoſe who did. Whereupon one of the prieſts ſtirr'd up the people to reſent this affront; and ſo they fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. The ſeamen returning to their ſhip, and complaining of the uſage they had met with, *Blake* immediately diſpatch'd a trumpeter to the *Vice-Roy*, to demand the prieſt who had been the chief occaſion of it: To which the *Vice-Roy* return'd this anſwer, *That he had no authority over the prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him.* But *Blake* ſent him word again, *That he would not enquire who had power to ſend the prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours, he would burn their Town.* And ſo being unable to reſiſt him, they ſent the prieſt to him; who juſtifying himſelf upon the rude behaviour of the ſeamen, *Blake* anſwer'd,

An inſtance of his regard to the honour of his country.

anſwer'd, *That if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſh'd them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſh'd religion of any place at which he touch'd; but he took it ill, that he ſet on the* Spaniards *to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an* Engliſhman *was only to be puniſh'd by an* Engliſhman. And ſo he civilly treated the prieſt, and diſmiſs'd him, being ſatisfy'd that he had him at his mercy. The Biſhop ſays, *Cromwell* was exceedingly pleas'd with this, and read the letters in council with great ſatisfaction, telling them, *He hoped he ſhould make the name of an* Engliſhman *as great as ever that of a* Roman *had been.* 1657.

The ſucceſs of the Protector's arms by land.

As victory crown'd the Protector's arms by ſea this year, ſo his forces by land were not unſucceſsful. The 6000 men which his Highneſs was oblig'd by his treaty with *France* to provide, for acting jointly with the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*, being tranſported under the command of Sir *John Reynolds* and major-general *Morgan*, the *French* had no inclination to begin upon *Mardyke* or *Dunkirk*, which when taken were to be put into *Cromwell*'s hands, but march'd to other places which they were to conquer for their own uſe. But his Highneſs's ambaſſador *Lockhart* made ſuch repeated repreſentations to the Cardinal, complaining of their breach of faith, not without ſome menaces, *That his maſter knew where to find a more punctual friend*, that as ſoon as they had taken *Montmedy* and *St. Venant*, the army march'd into *Flanders* and inveſted *Mardyke*, which being taken would much facilitate the deſign upon *Dunkirk*. The *French* and *Engliſh* had not lain before this ſtrong place above four days, when it was reduc'd to a ſurrender upon compoſition, and deliver'd up wholly into the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. But preſently after, the *French* being withdrawn into winter-quarters, the *Spaniards*, who were ſenſible

1657. ſenſible of what great importance this place was to the preſerving of *Dunkirk*, detach'd a body of horſe and foot to retake it. Among theſe were 2000 *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, commanded by the Duke of *York*; and they made two very furious ſtorms upon the fort, but were ſtoutly repuls'd, and forc'd to fly, with the loſs of ſeveral brave commanders.

LUDLOW, ſpeaking of this action, ſays, *Many of thoſe who were kill'd on the enemy's ſide were* Engliſh *under the Duke of* York: *And as it was confeſs'd by all preſent, that the* Engliſh *who took part with the* French, *behav'd themſelves with more bravery than any; ſo it was obſerv'd, that thoſe of the cavalier party who had join'd with the* Spaniards, *behav'd themſelves worſt.* The marſhal *Turenne* commanded the army that took *Mardyke*; to whom Cardinal *Mazarine* wrote thus, at *Lockhart*'s inſtance, before the ſiege: *Nothing can be of more fatal conſequence to* France, *than the loſs of* Cromwell's *friendſhip, and the breach of the union with him; which certainly will be broken, if ſome ſtrong town is not taken and put into his hands.* This conqueſt was very grateful to *Cromwell*, who immediately ſent ten men of war to guard the port of *Mardyke*, and cruize on that coaſt. A foreign popiſh writer, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays, "In effect, nothing could flatter the ambi- "tion of *Cromwell* more than this acquiſition, "knowing he had thereby won immortal glory: "He had, without the loſs of a man, accom- "pliſh'd a deſign, which the greateſt Kings of "*England* had often attempted in vain, at the "expence of their people's blood and treaſure: "He had re-eſtabliſh'd the *Engliſh* on the conti- "nent, and put them in a condition to make "themſelves maſters of both ſides of the chan- "nel, which had been deſpair'd of ſince the loſs "of *Calais*."

UPON

UPON the *French* King's entering into an agreement with the Lord Protector of *England*, King *Charles* with his family was obliged to leave *France* and retire to *Cologne*; where having reſided about two years and a half, he this year, upon concluding a treaty with the Catholick King, repair'd to the city of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where he found a handſome accommodation for himſelf and his ſmall court. About this time, among other methods he us'd in order to his reſtoration, Mr. *Echard* tells us of a private application he made to *Cromwell*, which he ſays came from the mouth of the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, who told the ſame to a perſon, of whoſe credit he could make no queſtion. The ſtory is this: That this Lady, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, being a particular friend and acquaintance of *Cromwell*'s, was employ'd to make a private offer and propoſal to him, in ſubſtance as follows, "That if he would reſtore, or permit the "King to return to his throne, he would ſend "him a blank paper, for him to write his own "terms and limitations, and ſettle what power "and riches he pleas'd upon himſelf, family, and "friends." This propoſal was firſt communicated to the Protector's Lady, who liked it very well, believing that beſides other advantages, it would bring abſolute indemnity and ſecurity to her huſband, and the whole family. She therefore took an opportunity, when ſhe was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavour'd to perſuade him to accept of it, as being of the higheſt moment to the happineſs of himſelf and relations. But he without minding her arguments and perſuaſions, preſently told her, *She was a fool*, adding this ſhrewd ſentence, *If* Charles Stuart *can forgive me all that I have done againſt him and his family, he does not deſerve to wear the crown of* England.

1657.

The King makes a private offer to him.

THE

1657. THE King keeping his court at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, had many conſultations with the governor *Don John*, and was in great hopes the diſtractions in *England* might at length turn to his own advantage; which encouraged the *Spaniards* to protect his perſon, and accept his arms in *Flanders*; where the marqueſs of *Ormond*, the lord *Rocheſter*, the lords *Gerrard* and *Wentworth*, the lord *Taaf*, and general *Middleton*, had their ſeveral regiments quarter'd along the ſea-coaſt, under the command of the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*; both to aſſiſt his Catholick Majeſty againſt his enemies the *French*, who were ſupported by *Cromwell*, and to be in a readineſs to tranſport themſelves into *England*, if any favourable opportunity ſhould invite them. And indeed, an inſurrection of the King's friends was at this time deſign'd; to promote which, there was now publiſh'd, and with great induſtry diſpers'd, a very bold paper, entitled, *Killing no Murder*, making it not only lawful but honourable to kill the Protector, as a tyrant and common enemy of his country. This put his Highneſs into a terrible fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the author, who was then conceal'd, not only in his perſon, but in the very ſuſpicion of his name, tho' ſince generally believ'd to be colonel *Titus*, who made a great figure in ſome of the parliaments after the King's reſtoration. Some time after this alarm, which ſerv'd more to put the Protector upon his guard, than to forward the preparations of the royaliſts, the marqueſs of *Ormond* ſlipt over from *Flanders*, and lay privately in *London*, to quicken the deſign, intending alſo to ſend for his troops to puſh on the execution of it. But the Protector, who was always good at intelligence, had (as was before related) corrupted Sir *Richard Willis*, who ſeem'd to be at the head of the King's party, and pretended a great deal of zeal for his ſervice, to diſcover all their moſt ſecret contrivances to him; and by his intelligence,

An inſurrection deſign'd.

And prevented.

intelligence, he ſet out a proclamation againſt the conſpirators before they could get into a body; by which means many of them were apprehended, the marquis of *Ormond* himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. 1657.

THE Protector now ſent his writs of ſummons, under the great ſeal, to divers perſons to ſit as members of the *Other Houſe*; the form of which writs was the ſame with that which was us'd to ſummon the Peers in parliament. The perſons who were to compoſe the *Other Houſe* were about ſixty in number, among whom were divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families, of good eſtates, and ſome colonels and officers of the army. Their names were as follows; the lord *Richard Cromwell*, the Protector's eldeſt ſon; the lord *Henry Cromwell*, his other ſon, lord-deputy of *Ireland*; *Nathanael Fiennes*, and *John Liſle*, lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal; *Henry Lawrence*, lord-preſident of the council; *Charles Fleetwood*, lieutenant-general of the army; *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, and *William Sydenham*, commiſſioners of the treaſury; *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund* Earl of *Mulgrave*, *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, *William* viſcount *Say* and *Seal*, *Philip* viſcount *Liſle*, *Philip* lord *Wharton*, *Thomas* lord *Fauconberg*, *George* lord *Eure*, *John Claypole* Eſq; *Charles Howard* Eſq; whom the Protector made a viſcount, *John Deſborough*, and *Edward Montague*, generals at ſea; Sir *Charles Wolſley*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *Walter Strickland* Eſq; major-general *Skippon*, colonel *Philip Jones*, Sir *William Strickland*, *Francis Rouſe* Eſq; *John Fiennes* Eſq; Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *John Hobart*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *William Roberts*, lord-chief-juſtice *Glynn*, lord-chief-juſtice *St. John*, *William Pierpoint* Eſq; *John Crew* Eſq; *Alexander Popham* Eſq; Sir *Chriſtopher Pack*, Sir *Robert Tichburn*, *Edward Whalley* Eſq; The other Houſe of parliament.

1657. *ley* Eſq; Sir *John Barkſtead*, lieutenant of the Tower; Sir *George Fleetwood*, Sir *Thomas Pride*, Sir *John Hewſon*, *Richard Ingoldſby* Eſq; *James Berry* Eſq; *William Goffe* Eſq; *Thomas Cooper* Eſq; *Edmund Thomas* Eſq; *George Monk*, general in *Scotland*; *David* Earl of *Caſſils*, Sir *William Lockhart*, Sir *Archibald Johnſton*, *William Steel*, lord chancellor of *Ireland*; *Roger* lord *Broghill*, Sir *Matthew Tomlinſon*, *William Lenthal* and *Richard Hambden* Eſqs; Some of theſe were knights of the Protector's own making.

The two houſes meet, and his Highneſs makes a ſpeech to them.

THE parliament thus improv'd by the addition of another houſe, met a ſecond time on the 20th day of *January*, when the Protector came as a Sovereign to the houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Speaker and houſe of Commons by the black-rod, made a ſhort ſpeech to them, beginning in the old ſtile, *My Lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of the houſe of Commons*; and then diſcourſing ſome particulars which he recommended to them; thanking them for their good correſpondence the laſt ſeſſion, and aſſuring them, if they went on as they had begun, they ſhould be call'd *the bleſſed of the Lord, and generations to come ſhould bleſs them*; he left his lord-keeper *Fiennes* to make a long ſpeech to them, with all the ſtate of our ancient Monarchs.

AS ſeveral of the nobility, who had writs ſent to them, refus'd to ſit in the *Other Houſe*, ſo Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and ſome few more of the commons, declin'd that honour, and choſe rather to ſit in the lower houſe, for which they had been elected members by the people. Many others alſo, who had been excluded by the Protector in the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, now ventur'd to take their ſeats, upon the third article of the *Petition and Advice*, by which *no members legally choſen, were to be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by conſent of that houſe whereof they were members.* By this

this means, and the removal of thoſe of the other houſe, who were, for the moſt part, taken out of this; a conſiderable alteration was made in this aſſembly; ſo that they ſoon began to call in queſtion the authority and juriſdiction of the other houſe, and ſeveral of the members, particularly Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, appear'd very forward in fomenting differences between theſe two bodies. Upon this his Highneſs ſent for the Commons to the *Banqueting-houſe*, where he exhorted them to *unity, and to the obſervance of their own rules in the* Petition and Advice. But this having no effect upon them, they went on in the ſame way; many being againſt the members of the other houſe being call'd *Lords*, others entirely againſt the having ſuch another houſe, and ſome ſpeaking reproachfully of it. Theſe proceedings tended to their own deſtruction; for the Protector looking upon himſelf to be aim'd at by them, and that theſe things were only the teſtimonies of their envy towards him and his government, began to think of putting a ſtop to all by diſſolving the parliament. Whilſt he was revolving this in his mind, on the 4th of *February* he receiv'd freſh information concerning the diligence of his adverſaries in all parts; which quicken'd him to that degree, that he would not ſtay for one of his own coaches, but taking the firſt that was at hand, with ſuch guards as he could preſently get together, he hurry'd to the *Other Houſe:* whither being come, he imparted his reſolution to diſſolve the parliament to lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*; who earneſtly endeavouring to diſſuade him from it, he clapt his hand upon his breaſt, and ſwore, *by the living God he would do it.* Then the uſher of the black-rod was ſent to the Commons to acquaint them, that his Highneſs was in the Lords houſe, and there requir'd their attendance. Hereupon they, with the ſpeaker, went up, and his Highneſs made a ſpeech to them, declaring ſeveral

1657.

Diſcord between the two houſes.

The Protector diſſolves them.

1657. *urgent and weighty reaſons, which made it neceſſary for him, in order to the publick peace and ſafety, to proceed to an immediate diſſolution of this parliament*; and accordingly he did diſſolve them.

Plot of the fifth-monarchy men againſt him.

HIS Highneſs was the more incens'd, becauſe at this time the fifth-monarchy men were forming a dangerous conſpiracy to overthrow him and his government; which he ſuſpected was countenanc'd by many of the parliament. Major-general *Harriſon* was deep in this plot, which was laid for an inſurrection to dethrone the Protector. Their chief cabal was held in a houſe near *Shoreditch*, where ſecretary *Thurloe*, who ſpared no pains or money for his maſter's ſafety, had a ſpy among them, and ſuffer'd them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous; at which time he ſent a party of ſoldiers, who ſeiz'd the chief of them as they were conſulting about the manner of putting their deſign in execution. Their arms and ammunition were likewiſe ſeiz'd, with a ſtandard of a *Lion couchant*, as of the tribe of *Judah*, with this motto, *Who ſhall rouze him up?* and ſeveral copies of a printed declaration, with this title, *The principle of the Remnant, &c.* The conſpirators apprehended were *Venner*, *Gray*, *Gowler*, *Hopkins*, *Aſhton*, and others, who were carried priſoners to the *Gate-houſe*, where they lay long in a miſerable condition, but were ſpared to create diſturbance and their own deſtruction at another time, *viz.* ſoon after the King's reſtoration.

SHORTLY after, as *Ludlow* informs us, ſome perſons who us'd to meet in *Coleman-ſtreet*, to deplore the apoſtaſy of the times, and particularly that of *Whitehall*, were apprehended by the lord mayor's officers, purſuant to the Protector's orders, as they were coming out of their meeting-place.

Story of cornet *Day*.

Among theſe was one cornet *Day*, who being accus'd of ſaying, *That the Protector was a rogue and a traitor*, confeſs'd the words; and to juſtify himſelf

ſelf ſaid, that *Cromwell* had affirmed in the preſence of himſelf and ſeveral other officers, *That if he did oppreſs the conſcientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away tithes by a certain time* (now paſt) *they ſhould then have liberty to ſay he was a rogue and a traitor.* He deſir'd leave therefore to produce his witneſſes, who were then preſent, to what he had aſſerted. But the buſineſs was ſo manag'd, that he and ſome others were fin'd and impriſon'd for their miſdemeanors. 1657.

THE Cavalier plot was mention'd before. And of this alſo he had timely informations given him; upon which he ſent for the lord-mayor, aldermen and common-council of the city of *London*, and acquainted them with it, and deſir'd their care to put the city into a poſture of defence. They accordingly went back with great indignation againſt the *Royaliſts*, and took extraordinary care of their gates and guards, and withal drew up an humble addreſs to his Highneſs, promiſing the faith of the city, and the purſe of it, in firmly adhering to him againſt all his enemies. Addreſſes alſo of the ſame ſtrain were made from general *Monk*'s and other regiments, and from the *Engliſh* forces in *Flanders*; all which his Highneſs anſwer'd with thanks. He now thought it time to proceed againſt the conſpirators themſelves, whom he had ſafely lodg'd in priſon. For this purpoſe a *high court of juſtice* was erected, being founded on a law made by the late parliament for the ſecurity of his Highneſs's perſon. *Whitelock* was one of the commiſſioners, but he tells us he never ſat with them, *it being againſt his judgment.* Before this court were brought, Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingſby*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*, with ſome others of the meaner ſort. The general charge againſt them was, "For endeavouring to levy war againſt the government "on behalf of *Charles Stuart.*" The particular charge againſt Dr. *Hewet* was, "For diſperſing

The *Cavalier* plot.

1658.

Trial of Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingſby*, and Mr. *Mordaunt.*

1658. " commiſſions from the ſon of the late King, and " perſuading divers to raiſe forces by virtue of the " ſame." That againſt Sir *Henry Slingſby* was, " For attempting to debauch ſome of the gariſon " of *Hull* to the ſervice of *Charles Stuart*, and de- " livering a commiſſion from him to them." And the priſoners of leſs note were charg'd " With a " deſign of firing the city in ſeveral parts, at the " time appointed for the inſurrection." Dr. *Hewet* deny'd the juriſdiction of the court, and argu'd againſt the legality of it; and ſo for contempt, after having been three times required to plead, he was adjudg'd guilty of the charge; and when he afterwards offer'd to plead, he was told it was too late. Sir *Henry Slingſby* pleaded that he was a priſoner at the time when he was charg'd to have practis'd againſt the government, and that the perſons whom he was accuſed of attempting to corrupt, had trepann'd him by their promiſes to ſerve the King in delivering *Hull*, if he would give them a commiſſion to act for him; which commiſſion was an old one, that had lain long by him. But all this availing him nothing, he was, together with Dr. *Hewet*, adjudg'd to die; and accordingly they were both beheaded on *Tower-hill*, notwithſtanding all endeavours that were us'd for procuring their pardon. Six of the meaner ſort were condemn'd to be hang'd, but only three ſuffer'd; one in *Tower-ſtreet*, another in *Cheapſide*, and the third before the *Exchange*. As for Mr. *Mordaunt*, he pleaded *not guilty*; and after a full hearing of the witneſſes on both ſides, the court acquitted him by one voice.

When theſe trials were over, the *High court of juſtice* was diſſolv'd, and the Protector, by *Whitelock*'s advice, referr'd all future trials of conſpirators to the *Upper Bench*, in the courſe of common law. He not only made *Howard* a Viſcount, but ſign'd a patent to make *Whitelock* one, and three other

other patents to make the attorney-general *Prideaux*, and the ſolicitor-general, baronets, and *John Maynard*, Eſq; his Highneſs's ſerjeant. 1658.

IN the beginning of this year, a party of the garriſon of *Oſtend*, with the privity of the governour, held intelligence with Cardinal *Mazarine*, and then with the Protector *Cromwell*, to betray that town into the hands of the *French*, wherein the Lord Protector was to have his ſhare. *Mazarine* was to ſend a land army under the command of marſhal *D'Aumont*, and the Protector was to furniſh a fleet for tranſporting the men. Articles having been agreed on between the ſuppoſed conſpirators and the Cardinal, on *May* 14th, the appointed day, the *Engliſh* fleet appeared before *Oſtend*, and the garriſon permitted the *French* to paſs and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate poſſeſſion of the place. But the ſubtle governour, having ſuffered the fleet to come to a proper diſtance, on a ſudden pull'd down the white flag that had invited them in, and ſet up a bloody flag: And before the veſſels could tack about, or get out of his reach, he ſorely gall'd them by the cannon from the forts; and the *French* that landed were all, to the number of 1500, ſlain or taken priſoners, among which laſt was the marſhal *D'Aumont* himſelf.

The ſiege and battle of *Dunkirk*.

PRESENTLY after this great diſappointment, it was reſolv'd to attempt the taking of *Dunkirk*; which was accordingly inveſted by the *French*, aſſiſted by 6000 valiant *Engliſhmen*, under the inſpection of *Lockhart*, the Protector's ambaſſador, but more immediately under the command of major-general *Morgan*. Whilſt they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, the *French* under marſhal *Turenne* on the ſide of *Newport*, and *Morgan* with his *Engliſh* and a brigade of *French* horſe, on that next *Mardyke*, they had intelligence brought them, that the *Spaniſh* general, Don *John*

1658. of *Auſtria*, with the Prince of *Conde*, the Prince *de Ligny*, and the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, were advancing with 30,000 men to relieve the place. Hereupon the *French* King and Cardinal were perſuaded by *Turenne* and others to withdraw their perſons, and retire to *Calais*, and leave all to be determined by a council of war. In the firſt council, which was held without either *Lockhart* or *Morgan*, it was reſolv'd to raiſe the ſiege, if the enemy came on. But in the next, when thoſe two were preſent, *Morgan* vehemently oppos'd that reſolution, alledging, "What a diſhonour it would "be to the crown of *France*, to have ſummoned "a place, and broke ground before it, and then "raiſe the ſiege and run away;" and deſiring the council to conſider, *That if they rais'd the ſiege, the alliance with* England *would be broken the ſame hour.* Upon which it was reſolv'd, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the ſiege. And the enemy coming on, a deſperate fight enſued, in which the *Spaniards* were in a manner totally routed by the *Engliſh*, before the *French* came in. At the end of the purſuit, marſhal *Turenne*, with above a hundred officers, came up to the *Engliſh*, alighted from their horſes, and embracing the officers, ſaid, "They never ſaw a more glorious action in their lives, "and that they were ſo tranſported with the ſight of it, "that they had not power to move, or do any thing." The *Spaniſh* army being entirely vanquiſhed, the confederates renew'd their attempts upon the town of *Dunkirk* with great vigour and induſtry; and the marquis *de Leda* the governour, being mortally wounded, as he was ſallying out upon the beſiegers, the *Spaniards* within deſir'd a preſent capitulation; which being granted, this important place was ſurrender'd upon articles, on the 25th of *June*; when it was immediately deliver'd up into the hands of the *Engliſh* by the *French* King and Cardinal

The town taken.

dinal in perſon, purſuant to the treaty between them and his Highneſs the Lord Protector. 1658.

A remarkable ſtory ſetting forth the great policy and power of the Protector.

AND here I cannot omit the following ſtory in relation to this affair, in which both the perfidiouſneſs of the *French* court, and the policy and power of the *Engliſh* Lord Protector are very remarkably ſeen. It is thus related by Dr. *Welwood*. " When " the *French* army being join'd with the *Engliſh* " auxiliaries, was on its march to inveſt the town, " *Cromwell* ſent one morning for the *French* Am- " baſſador to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him pub- " lickly for his maſter's deſigned breach of pro- " miſe, in giving ſecret orders to the *French* ge- " neral to keep poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, in caſe it " was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. " The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of " the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd " leave to aſſure him, that there was no ſuch thing " thought of. Upon which *Cromwell* pulling a " paper out of his pocket, *Here* (ſays he) *is a copy* " *of the cardinal's order: And I deſire you to diſ-* " *patch immediately an expreſs, to let him know,* " *that I am not to be impoſed upon; and that if he* " *deliver not up the keys of the town of* Dunkirk *to* " Lockhart *within an hour after it ſhall be taken,* " *I'll come in perſon and demand them at the gates* " *of* Paris. There were but four perſons ſaid to " be privy to this order, the Queen-mother, the " Cardinal, the Marſhal *de-Turenne*, and a Secre- " tary. The Cardinal, for a long time, blam'd " the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabb'd " it out to ſome of her women: Whereas it was " found after the ſecretary's death, that he had " kept a ſecret correſpondence with *Cromwell* for " ſeveral years; and therefore it was not doubted " but he had ſent him the copy of the order above- " mention'd. The meſſage had its effect; for " *Dunkirk* was put into the poſſeſſion of the *Eng-* " *liſh*: And to palliate the matter (continues *Wel-*

1658. A ſolemn embaſſy to him from the *French* court.

" *wood*) the duke and marſhal of *Crequy* was diſ-
" patch'd into *England*, ambaſſador extraordi-
" nary, to compliment *Cromwell*, attended with
" a numerous and ſplendid train of perſons of
" quality; among whom was a Prince of the
" blood, and *Mancini*, *Mazarine*'s nephew, who
" brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector,
" full of the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect, and
" aſſuring his Highneſs, *That being within view*
" *of the* Engliſh *ſhore*, *nothing but the King's indiſ-*
" *poſition* (who lay then ill of the ſmall-pox at
" *Calais*) *could have hinder'd him to come over to*
" England, *that he might enjoy the honour of wait-*
" *ing upon one of the* greateſt men that ever was,
" *and whom*, *next to his maſter*, *his greateſt ambi-*
" *tion was to ſerve. But being depriv'd of ſo great*
" *a happineſs*, *he had ſent the perſon that was neareſt*
" *to him in blood*, *to aſſure him of the profound*
" *veneration he had for his perſon*, *and how much*
" *he was reſolv'd*, *to the utmoſt of his power*, *to*
" *cultivate a perpetual amity and friendſhip betwixt*
" *his maſter and him.*"

THO' *Welwood* tells us, this embaſſy was to palliate the buſineſs of *Dunkirk*, the author of the *Hiſtory of* England *during the reigns of the royal houſe of* Stuart, ſays it was to return a compliment *Cromwell* paid the *French* King, on his arrival at *Calais*, juſt before *Dunkirk* was ſurrender'd; when his Highneſs ſent the lord *Falconbridge*, his ſon-in-law, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue, of 150 gentlemen and ſervants, to congratulate that Monarch upon his coming into the neighbourhood of *England*. He alſo brought a letter from the Protector to the King, written with his own hand, and another to the Cardinal, preſſing the reducing of *Dunkirk*, as a neſt of pirates. His lordſhip had as much honour done him as could be paid to a ſovereign prince. All rules in the ceremonials were paſs'd over. The

Cardinal

Cardinal receiv'd him as he came out of his coach, and gave him the right hand in his apartment, which was never done to the imperial ambaſſador, or the pope's nuncio, and at which all the other foreign miniſters grumbled. He was royally treated both by the King and the Cardinal, during the five days of his ſtay; and after he had taken his audience of leave, his Majeſty preſented him with a gold box inlaid with diamonds, the arms of *France* on the cover, and three large jewels for the three *Flower-de-luces*; on the inſide was the King's picture ſet in diamonds; the whole of 5000 crowns value. And as his Excellency had preſented the King with two ſets of *Engliſh* horſes, from the Lord Protector, and one ſet to the Cardinal; the King return'd a preſent of a ſword, valu'd at 10,000 crowns; and the Cardinal ſent his Highneſs a ſuit of tapeſtry hangings, wrought after the *Perſian* manner in the *Gobelins* at *Paris*. 1658.

AND hereupon, the Duke *de Crequi* (as was before mention'd) was diſpatch'd into *England* by the *French* King, to compliment the Lord Protector. He was receiv'd at his landing at *Dover* by lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, accompanied by ſeveral great officers in twenty coaches and ſix, one hundred life-guard, and two hundred horſe, who all attended the Ambaſſador with ſwords drawn in their hands; beſides above 150 gentlemen, who came with *Fleetwood* on horſeback. The Protector met his Excellency at the third ſtair, and the next day entertain'd him at dinner, ſeating him at his right hand, and his ſon the lord *Richard* at his left. Some ſay, the Duke preſented *Cromwell* with the keys of *Dunkirk*, telling him, *His maſter took pleaſure in parting with them to the greateſt Captain upon earth.* He ſtay'd ſix days, and at his departure, his Highneſs preſented him with a ſword, worth 3000 crowns, and a ſtriking watch ſet with diamonds of the ſame value, with above

1658. above 40 pieces of fine *Engliſh* broad-cloath. He gave alſo 30 gold watches to the officers and gentlemen of his retinue, and 1000 broad pieces among his ſervants.

The ſtate of his affairs a little before his death.

BUT as all worldly glory and proſperity muſt have an end, ſo our Protector's greatneſs, which expired only with his life, now drew near to a period. It has been obſerv'd by ſome, that tho' after the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, all things ſeem'd to ſucceed at home and abroad, according to his wiſh, and his power and greatneſs to be better eſtabliſh'd than ever; yet he never had that ſerenity of mind, after his refuſal of the crown, that he before uſually enjoy'd: that he was now much more apprehenſive of danger to his perſon than he uſed to be, and the many plots and conſpiracies againſt him, gave his mind great diſturbance; inſomuch that he grew very ſuſpicious, and more difficult of acceſs, and was more rarely ſeen abroad than formerly. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, it was generally believ'd that his life and all his arts were exhauſted at once, and that if he had liv'd much longer, he could not have held things together. However this be, 'tis certain he was greatly afflicted with the loſs of ſome of his family and friends, a little before his death. He ſeem'd to be much troubled for the death of his friend, the old earl of *Warwick*, with whom he had a faſt friendſhip, tho' neither their humours nor their natures were very much alike; and the heir of that houſe, who had married his youngeſt daughter, died about the ſame time; ſo that all his relation to, and confidence in that family, was at an end.

The death of his daughter *Cleypole.*

But that which chiefly diſturbed his peace, was the death of his beſt beloved daughter, the lady *Elizabeth Claypole*, who is ſaid to have earneſtly interceded for Dr. *Hewet*'s life, and yet in that only inſtance had a denial from her fond father. She died at *Hampton-Court* on the 6th of *Auguſt*; and

and her body being carried by water to *Weſtminſter*, after lying in ſtate in the *Painted-Chamber*, was ſolemnly interr'd in *Henry* the VIIth's chapel. 1658.

ABOUT a week after her death, the Protector, who had been ill about a fortnight before, grew conſiderably worſe at *Hampton-Court*, whither he had retired with his council. His diſeaſe at firſt was a kind of tertian ague, which for ſome time continued under ſeveral appearances, with ſymptoms ſo favourable, that every other day he walk'd abroad in the palace garden: But now he began to be more confin'd; and about the end of *Auguſt* took his bed, and made a will relating to his private and domeſtick concerns. His fits ſtill growing ſtronger, and his ſpirits weaker, he was remov'd from *Hampton-Court* to *White-Hall* (tho' *Whitelock* ſays he died at *Hampton-Court.*) Here he ſoon appear'd to be delirious, and his phyſicians began to think him in real danger; tho' his chaplains ſeem'd ſtill to aſſure themſelves of his recovery; inſomuch that Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, in his prayer to God for him, is ſaid to have expreſs'd himſelf thus, *That they aſked not for his life; for they were aſſur'd he had too great things for this man to do, to remove him yet; but they pray'd for his ſpeedy recovery, becauſe his life and preſence were ſo neceſſary to divers things then of great moment to be diſpatch'd.* His ſickneſs ſtill increaſing, ſo that he ſeem'd to be drawing near his end, thoſe of his council being alarm'd, came to put him in mind to nominate his ſucceſſor, according to the *Humble petition and advice.* But he being now almoſt in a lethargy, and not anſwering to the purpoſe, they aſk'd him again, whether 'twas his will that his eldeſt ſon *Richard* ſhould ſucceed him in the Protectorſhip; to which 'twas ſaid he anſwer'd, Yes. *Ludlow* ſays, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal attended for ſigning the declaration of the perſon to be appointed his ſucceſſor; but whether he was

He falls ſick.

He appoints his ſon *Richard* to ſucceed him.

1658. was unwilling to diſcover his intentions to leave the ſucceſſion to his ſon, leſt thereby he ſhould, in caſe of recovery, diſoblige others whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was ſo diſcompos'd in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or laſtly, whether he would have named, or did name any other, is uncertain: but certain it is, that the commiſſioners were not admitted till the *Friday* following, when the ſymptoms of death were apparent upon him. Others give this account of the Protector's laſt ſickneſs, and the buſineſs of a ſucceſſor: That after *Cromwell* had been ſome time ill, a malignant humour broke out in his foot, which hindering him from the exerciſe of walking or riding abroad, he oblig'd his phyſicians to endeavour to diſperſe it, which they attempting to do, drove it upwards to his heart; by which means he became deſperately ſick, and in the beginning of *September* the ſymptoms of death appear'd upon him; and aſking one of his phyſicians, *what he thought of his caſe?* the doctor anſwer'd, *My Lord, there is no more oil in that lamp which has given ſo much light to both church and ſtate.* The dying Protector replied with a magnanimity worthy of him, *When do you think it will go out?* The phyſician told him, *In two days at fartheſt*: Upon which *Cromwell* ſaid, *It is time then to ſettle my mind, and provide for the ſafety of the ſtate.* Accordingly he ſent for his council, and recommended to them the choice of a ſucceſſor, tho' by the *Humble petition and advice* he might nominate one himſelf, which it was expected he would have done. The author of the *Hiſtory of* England, *during the reigns of the royal houſe of* Stuart, ſays, lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* did, without doubt, expect to have been declared ſucceſſor to *Cromwell*, and without doubt had been ſo promis'd by his father in-law; and he farther ſays, his manuſcript author, who had his memoirs from the

the earl of *Orrery* (the famous lord *Broghill* in *Cromwell's* time) affirms *Oliver* made *Fleetwood* his heir; but one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it away and burnt it, before *Fleetwood* could come at it: And a few minutes before *Cromwell*'s death, when he was ask'd, *Who ſhould ſucceed him*, he reply'd, *In ſuch a drawer of the cabinet, in my cloſet, you will find it.* *Fleetwood* found himſelf trick'd, and the whole council againſt him; ſo he fell in with them, waiting an opportunity to right or revenge himſelf. However this was, on the third of *September* (his beloved and victorious day, on which he had twice triumph'd for two of his greateſt victories, at *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*) about three in the afternoon, the Protector expired; on which day, or, as ſome ſay, the day before, there happen'd the moſt violent ſtorm of wind that had ever been known; which I have not ſo ſtrong a fancy as to imagine, with a certain author, was any thing preternatural; any more than I can believe the prediction of colonel *Lindſey* as to the day of the Protector's death, which is founded upon the ſtory of his making league with the devil; a ſtory, which, by the very ſillineſs of the relation, ſufficiently confutes itſelf. 1658. He dies.

THUS the famous *Oliver Cromwell*, after ſo many great actions, ſo many toils and fatigues, and ſo many plots and conſpiracies againſt his life, at laſt died quietly in his bed. He expired in the ſixtieth year of his age, five years four months and fourteen days after the diſſolution of the long parliament, four years eight months and eighteen days after he had been declared Protector by the *Inſtrument of government*, and but one year three months and nine days, after his being confirmed in that office by the *Humble petition and advice*. His age and the time of his government.

THUS having given a faithful account of the actions of this great man, I might leave every one to judge of his character from thence: However, it may Some account of his character.

1658. may not be amiſs to take a ſhort view of it. As to his perſon, he had a manly ſtern look, and was of an active healthful conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt toil and fatigue. When he appear'd firſt in the parliament, he made no great figure, there ſeemed to be nothing extraordinary in him, he diſcover'd none of thoſe talents which uſe to gain applauſe, and work upon the affections of the hearers and ſtanders by; yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts ſeem'd to be rais'd, as if he had faculties that lay conceal'd, 'till he had occaſion to uſe them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithſtanding the want of cuſtom. His converſation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reſerv'd and grave. He uſed often to conſult with the Lord *Broghill*, *Pierpoint*, *Whitelock*, Sir *Charles Wolſley* and *Thurloe*; and would be ſhut up three or four hours together with them in private diſcourſe, and none were admitted to come in to him: He would ſometimes be very chearful, and laying aſide his greatneſs, would be exceeding familiar; and by way of diverſion would make Verſes with them, and every one muſt try his fancy: He commonly call'd for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take a pipe himſelf; then he would fall again to his great and ſerious buſineſs, and would adviſe with them about his weighty and important affairs.

He affected, for the moſt part, a plainneſs in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendance, he appear'd with magnificence upon publick occaſions. He was very temperate, ſparing in his diet, and tho' ſometimes he would drink freely, yet never to exceſs: He was moderate in all other pleaſures, and after his firſt reformation, free from all viſible immoralities, and ſeem'd to be a great enemy to vice, and a lover

of

of virtue, always taking care to ſuppreſs the former, and encourage the latter. He writ a tolerable good hand, and a ſtyle becoming a gentleman, except when he uſed to cant, which, whether it was affected or ſincere, I leave others to judge. His ſpeeches were for the moſt part ambiguous, eſpecially in publick meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his meaning, than told them himſelf; tho' at other times he ſufficiently ſhew'd he could command his ſtyle according as there was occaſion, and would deliver himſelf with ſuch a force and ſtrength of expreſſion, that 'twas commonly ſaid, *That every* word *he ſpoke was a* thing. He loved men of wit, and was a great admirer of muſick, entertaining the moſt skilful in that ſcience in his pay and family. He reſpected all perſons that excell'd in any art, and would procure them to be ſent or brought to him. He was very well read in the *Greek* and *Roman* ſtory; but 'tis very obvious, that in governing theſe nations, he ſtudied men more than books, ſo that his turn was ſerved in all offices. No man was ever better ſerv'd, nor took more pains to be ſo: No man more cunningly div'd into the manners of men, and into the tempers of thoſe whom he had any thing to do with, nor ſooner diſcover'd their talents. And if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpoſe, tho' ever ſo obſcure, he ſent for him, and employ'd him; ſuiting the employment to the perſon, and not the perſon to the employment; and upon this maxim in his government depended, in a great meaſure, his ſucceſs. 1658.

HE had undoubtedly a wonderful knowledge of men, and by his great penetration could ſoon diſcover their abilities and qualifications: An inſtance of which we have in Dr. *Calamy*'s Life of Mr. *Howe*. He tells us, that Mr. *Howe* having occaſion to come to *London*, had a mind

to

1658. to hear a ſermon at *White-hall*, on the laſt *Sunday* he deſign'd to ſtay in town. The Protector ſeeing him, knew him to be a country miniſter by his habit; and diſcerning ſomething more than ordinary in his looks, ſent a meſſenger to him, deſiring to ſpeak with him after the ſervice was over. Mr. *Howe* waiting upon him accordingly, the Protector deſir'd him to preach before him the next Lord's-day; and told him it was in vain to attempt to excuſe himſelf, for that he would take no denial. Mr. *Howe* pleaded, that his people expected him, and would be uneaſy if he ſtaid any longer from them: But *Cromwell* undertook to write to them himſelf, and to diſpatch one to ſupply his place, which he actually did; and Mr. *Howe* preach'd before him as he was deſir'd. *Cromwell* preſſed him to do the ſame a ſecond and a third time; and after much free converſation in private, nothing would ſatisfy him but he muſt be his houſhold chaplain; and he promiſed to take care that his place ſhould be ſupply'd at *Torrington* to the peoples content. Mr. *Howe* was highly reſpected by the Protector, and had a great intereſt in him; though he was once like to loſe his favour, upon the following occaſion (as related by the above-mentioned author.) The notion of a *particular faith* in prayer, carry'd even as far as to *inſpiration* itſelf, prevailed much in *Cromwell*'s court; and great pains were taken to cultivate and ſupport it. Mr. *Howe* having heard a ſermon from a noted perſon, in defence of this notion, reſolv'd the next time his turn came to preach before the Protector, to oppoſe ſuch ſpiritual pride and confidence. *Cromwell* heard him with great attention; but would ſometimes knit his brows, and diſcover great uneaſineſs. After the ſermon, a perſon of diſtinction came to him, and ask'd if he knew what he had done; and ſignified his apprehenſion, that the Protector would be ſo offended

at

at that diſcourſe, that he would find it a hard matter ever to make his peace with him, or ſecure his favour for the future: And Mr. *Howe* himſelf afterwards obſerv'd, that *Cromwell* was cooler in his carriage to him than before; tho' he never mention'd the ſermon to him.

To return to his character: He had a rare faculty of examining and winding about the minds of all, even his enemies, which he could beſet with innumerable ſnares and artifices. He often made feaſts for the inferior officers of the army, and as they were eating, he would order the drums to beat, and call in his foot-guards, to fall on and ſnatch off the meat from the table before they had half done; after which, to make farther diverſion, he would proceed to throwing of cuſhions, putting burning coals into their boots and pockets, and a hundred ſuch pranks. And when the officers had ſufficiently tir'd themſelves with laughing and ſporting in that manner, he would wheedle them to open their hearts, and ſo draw from them ſome ſecrets of the greateſt moment; while himſelf, ſounding the opinions of others, artfully conceal'd his own. He had an abſolute command over all his paſſions and affections, ſo that he could ſuit his carriage to all companies and occaſions. He would ſometimes be very merry and jocund with ſome of the nobility, and would then take occaſion to tell them what company they had lately kept, and when and where they had drank the King and royal family's health; adviſing them, when they did it again, to do it more privately; and this without the leaſt ſign of paſſion, but in a way of mirth and drollery. Having entertain'd ſome jealouſy of general *Monk* in *Scotland*, he, a little before his death, wrote a letter to him with his own hand. The body of the letter contain'd only ſome general matters relating to the government; but after his uſual drolling manner, he ſubjoin'd this by way of poſtſcript,

which was indeed the main occaſion of the letter: *There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in* Scotland *called* George Monk, *who is ſaid to lie in wait there to introduce* Charles Stuart; *I pray uſe your diligence to apprehend him, and ſend him up to me.*

ALL allow he was an extraordinary genius, and maſter of the moſt refin'd policy; that he had a great ſpirit, a wonderful circumſpection and ſagacity, and a moſt magnanimous reſolution. His courage and conduct in the field were undoubtedly admirable; he had a greatneſs of ſoul, which the greateſt dangers and difficulties rather animated than diſcourag'd; and his diſcipline and government of the army was in all reſpects ſuch as might become the moſt renown'd and accompliſh'd General. "He muſt, ſays the lord *Clarendon*, have "had a wonderful underſtanding in the natures "and humours of men, and as great a dexterity "in applying them, who, from a private and ob- "ſcure birth (tho' of a good family) without inte- "reſt or eſtate, alliance or friendſhip, could raiſe "himſelf to ſuch a height, and compound and "knead ſuch oppoſite and contradictory tempers, "humours, and intereſts, into a conſiſtence that "contributed to his deſigns, and to their own de- "ſtruction, whilſt himſelf grew inſenſibly power- "ful enough to cut off thoſe by whom he had "climb'd, in the inſtant that they projected to "demoliſh their own building."

AMBITIOUS he certainly was to a very high degree, and yet at the ſame time ſeem'd to have a paſſionate regard to the publick good: And if this was really the caſe, the former ſeems to have ſo far blinded him, as to make him think many things were for the publick good which really were not ſo: But how far the neceſſity of affairs, and the confuſion and unſettled ſtate the nation was then in; how far this extraordinary caſe, I ſay, might juſtify

juſtify ſuch proceedings in ſome inſtances, in order to prevent greater confuſions and diſtractions; or whether this was really *Cromwell*'s deſign in thoſe proceedings, I leave the reader to judge. But whatever cenſure we are to paſs upon his actions of this kind, it is allow'd by all, even by his enemies, that he perform'd many great and laudable things to the honour and advantage of the nation. One of them * reckons them up thus: "1. By *Blake* he more "humbled and ſubdu'd the *Algerine*, *Tripoli* and "*Tunis* pirates, than ever any before or ſince did. "2. *Weſtminſter-hall* was never repleniſh'd with "more learned and upright judges than by him; "nor was juſtice, either in law or equity, in civil "caſes, more equally diſtributed, where he was "not a party. 3. When the *Norway* traders re- "preſented to him the miſchief and inconvenien- "ces of the act of navigation, he, during his time, "diſpenſed with it, and permitted the *Engliſh* to "trade to *Norway* for timber, maſts, pitch, tar, "and iron, as before the act: And by a law made "in his third parliament, licenſe is given to tranſ- "port fiſh in foreign bottoms. 4. Tho' he play'd "the fool in making war with *Spain*, and peace "with *France*, yet he made a more advantageous "treaty of commerce for the *Engliſh* to *France*, "than before they had. 5. Tho' he join'd forces "with the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*, yet he "reſerv'd the ſea-towns conquer'd from the *Spa- "niard*, to himſelf, and ſo had *Dunkirk* and *Mar- "dyke* deliver'd up to him; and would have had "*Oſtend*, if the gariſon had not cheated both *Ma- "zarine* and him; thereby to be arbitrator over "the *French*, as well as *Spaniards*, when he plea- "ſed. 6. *Cromwell* outvy'd the beſt of our Kings, "in rendring our laws to the ſubject in the *Eng- "liſh* tongue: For tho' *Edward* I. permitted "pleading in the *Engliſh* tongue, yet he went no "farther; whereas *Cromwell* render'd not only

* *Coke.*

" the pleadings, but practice, and laws themſelves " into *Engliſh.*" In ſhort, he apply'd himſelf ſo induſtriouſly to the buſineſs of the commonwealth, and diſcover'd ſuch abilities for managing it, that his greateſt enemies acknowledg'd he was not unworthy of the government, if his way to it had been juſt and innocent. And he ſhew'd his good underſtanding in nothing more, than in ſeeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but more particularly for the courts of law, which gave a general ſatisfaction.

THO' he was brave in his perſon, yet he was wary in his conduct; for from the time he was firſt declar'd Protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. He was very cautious and reſerv'd whenever there was occaſion, and in matters of greateſt moment truſted none but his ſecretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him; an inſtance of which the ſecretary us'd to tell of himſelf: "That " he was once commanded by *Cromwell* to go at " a certain hour to *Gray's-Inn*, and at ſuch a place " deliver a bill of 20,000 *l.* payable to the bearer " at *Genoa*, to a man he ſhould find walking in " ſuch a habit and poſture as he deſcrib'd him, " without ſpeaking a word." *Thurloe* did as he was order'd, and never knew to his dying-day either the perſon or the occaſion. At another time the Protector came late at night to *Thurloe*'s office, to give him directions about ſomething of great importance and ſecreſy; which having done, he obſerv'd that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the clerks, was in the room, ſeeming to be aſleep upon his deſk; but ſuſpecting that he might not really be ſo, and that he might have over-heard their diſcourſe, he preſently drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and would have diſpatch'd him upon the ſpot, if *Thurloe* had not earneſtly intreated him to deſiſt, and aſſur'd him, that *Moreland* having ſat up two nights together, was now certainly faſt aſleep.

No

No Prince ſeem'd to be maſter of ſo much, and ſo particular intelligence as *Cromwell*; of which I have given ſome remarkable inſtances in the foregoing hiſtory, and ſhall here add one more, as wonderful as any of the reſt: A gentleman who had ſerv'd the late King, deſir'd leave of the Protector to travel, and obtain'd it, on condition *he ſhould not ſee* Charles Stuart. Accordingly arriving at *Cologn*, he ſent to deſire of the King that he might wait on him by night, which was agreed to. And when he had fully diſcours'd of the buſineſs he came about, he took leave, having receiv'd a letter which he ſew'd within the crown of his hat. Upon his return to *England*, he came with confidence to the Protector; and being ask'd by him, *If he had punctually perform'd his promiſe?* he anſwer'd, *that he had: But*, ſaid his Highneſs, *Who was it that put out the candles when you ſpoke to* Charles Stuart? The gentleman was ſtartled at this unexpected queſtion; and the Protector farther demanding, *What he ſaid to him*, he anſwer'd, *Nothing at all. Did he not ſend a letter by you then?* ſaid *Cromwell*; and the gentlemen denying that alſo, *Cromwell* took his hat, and having found the letter, ſent him immediately to the *Tower*.

HIS maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign parts, gratify'd the temper which is very natural to *Engliſhmen*. Of this he was ſo careful, that tho' he was not a crown'd head, yet his ambaſſadors had all the reſpects and honours paid them, which our Kings ambaſſadors ever had. He would ſay, *That the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the King was only the repreſentative head; and therefore the nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame reſpect paid to his miniſters.* And 'tis very obſervable, that *Lockhart*, *Cromwell*'s ambaſſador in *France*, and governour of *Dunkirk*, told Biſhop *Burnet*, That *when he was ſent afterwards ambaſſador by King*

Charles, *he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in* Cromwell's *time.*

THE regard he had to the commerce of the nation, his care to protect it from foreign inſults, and ſpeedy method of obtaining ſatisfaction and reparation for injured merchants, appears by the following remarkable inſtance: An *Engliſh* merchant-ſhip was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into *St. Maloes*, and there confiſcated upon ſome groundleſs pretence. As ſoon as the maſter of the ſhip got home, he preſented a petition to the Protector in council, ſetting forth his caſe, and praying for redreſs. Upon hearing the petition, the Protector told his council, he would take that affair upon himſelf, and order'd the man to attend him next morning. He examin'd him ſtrictly as to all the circumſtances of his caſe, and finding, by his anſwers, that he was a plain honeſt man, and that he had been concern'd in no unlawful trade, he ask'd him, if he could go to *Paris* with a letter? The man anſwer'd he could. Well then, ſays the Protector, prepare for your journey, and come to me to-morrow morning. He accordingly went, and *Cromwell* gave him a letter to Cardinal *Mazarine*, and told him he muſt ſtay but three days for an anſwer. The anſwer I mean, ſays he, is, the full value of what you might have made of your ſhip and cargo; and tell the Cardinal, that if it is not paid you in three days, you have expreſs orders from me to return home. The man did as he was directed, and upon the Cardinal's ſhuffling with him, return'd as he was order'd. As ſoon as the Protector ſaw him, he ask'd him if he had got his money? And upon his anſwering, he had not, the Protector ſaid to him, then leave your direction with my ſecretary, and you ſhall ſoon hear from me. Tho' there was a *French* miniſter reſiding here, *Cromwell* did not ſo much as acquaint him with the affair, but immediately ſent a man of war,

or

or two to the channel, with orders to ſeize every *French* ſhip they could meet with. Accordingly they return'd in a few days with two or three *French* prizes, which the Protector order'd to be immediately ſold, and out of the produce, he paid the merchant what he demanded for his ſhip and cargo. Then he ſent for the *French* miniſter, gave him an account of what had happen'd, and told him there was a balance, which, if he pleas'd, ſhould be paid in to him, to the end that he might deliver it to thoſe of his countrymen, who were the owners of the *French* ſhips that had been ſo taken and ſold.

FEW Princes ever bore their character higher upon all occaſions than our Protector, eſpecially in his treaties with crown'd heads. And 'tis a thing without example that's related by one of the beſt inform'd hiſtorians of the age, namely, *Puffendorf*, in his Life of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, That in *Cromwell*'s league with *France* againſt *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* King to call himſelf King of *France*, but King of the *French*; whereas he took to himſelf not only the title of Protector of *England*, but likewiſe of *France*: And which is yet more ſurprizing, in the inſtrument of the treaty, the Protector's name was put before the *French* King's. *France* indeed was then under a minority, and was not arriv'd to that power and greatneſs, which it afterwards attain'd to; towards which our Protector contributed not a little, by that alliance with *France* againſt *Spain*, which is generally reckon'd the falſeſt ſtep he ever made, with reſpect to the repoſe of *Europe*, and for which he has been highly reflected on. But I ſhall here ſet down, in his behalf, what Sir *William Temple* writes concerning him on this occaſion, in the third part of his *Memoirs*.

" CARDINAL *Mazarine*, ſays that author, hav-
" ing ſurmounted his own dangers, and the diffi-
" culties incident to a minority, purſu'd the plan
" left him by his predeceſſor (*viz.* Cardinal *Rich-*

" *lieu* ;) and by his meaſures taken with *Crom-*
" *well*, and the aſſiſtance of an immortal body of
" 6000 brave *Engliſh*, which, by agreement, were
" to be continually recruited, he made ſuch a pro-
" greſs in *Flanders*, that *Cromwell* ſoon perceiv'd
" the balance turn'd, and was grown too heavy on
" the *French* ſide : Whereupon he diſpatch'd a
" gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propoſe there
" a change of his treaty with *France*, into one
" with *Spain* ; by which he would draw his forces
" over into their ſervice, and make them 10000,
" to be continually recruited, upon condition their
" firſt action ſhould be to beſiege *Calais*, and
" when taken, to put it into his hands. The per-
" ſon ſent upon this errand, was paſt the *Pyrenees*,
" when he was overtaken by the news of *Crom-*
" *well*'s death : Whereupon *Mazarine* having not
" only loſt his ſtrongeſt ſupport in *Flanders*, but
" obſerv'd how his deſign would never be ſerv'd
" by any meaſures he could take with *England*,
" however it ſhould be govern'd, reſolv'd upon a
" peace with *Spain*, and made it at the *Pyrenees*."

CROMWELL's influence was ſo great in *France*, that the Cardinal durſt not deny him any thing ; which he took very hard, and complain'd of to thoſe he could be free with. He one day made a viſit to Madam *Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, ſhe, as ſhe was wont to do, beſought him to continue gracious to the churches. Upon which *Mazarine* told her, " That he knew
" not how to behave himſelf. If he advis'd the
" King to puniſh and ſuppreſs their inſolence,
" *Cromwell* threaten'd him to join with the *Spa-*
" *niard* ; and if he ſhew'd any favour to them, at
" *Rome* they accounted him an *Heretick*." 'Twas ſaid, that the Cardinal would change countenance, when he heard *Cromwell* nam'd ; ſo that it paſs'd into a proverb in *France*, *That he was not ſo much afraid of the devil as of* Oliver Cromwell.

SPAIN

SPAIN dreaded him, and courted his friendſhip, as much as *France*, tho' the latter prevail'd. When the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador was inform'd, that the fleet under *Penn* and *Venables* was gone towards the *Weſt-Indies*, and that the ſtorm was likely to fall upon ſome of his maſter's territories, he applied himſelf to the Protector, to know whether he had any juſt ground of complaint againſt the King his maſter; if ſo, if he was ready to give him all poſſible ſatisfaction. The Protector demanded a liberty to trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, and the repeal of the laws of the *Inquiſition*: To which the ambaſſador reply'd, *That his maſter had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once.*

THE States of *Holland* ſo dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of umbrage: And when at any time the King or his brothers came to ſee their ſiſter, the Princeſs of *Orange*, within a day or two they us'd to ſend a deputation to acquaint them, that *Cromwell* had oblig'd them to give them no harbour. When King *Charles* was ſeeking for a pretext for a war with the *Dutch*, in 1672, he made this one, That they ſuffered ſome of his rebellious ſubjects to live in their country. *Borel* their ambaſſador anſwer'd, That it was a maxim of long ſtanding among them, not to enquire upon what account ſtrangers came to live in their dominions, but to entertain them all, unleſs they had been guilty of conſpiring againſt the perſons of Princes. The King thereupon telling him, how they had us'd him and his brothers, the ambaſſador with much ſimplicity anſwer'd, *Alas, Sir, that was another thing:* Cromwell *was a great man, and made himſelf be fear'd both by land and ſea.* To which the King reply'd, *I'll make myſelf be fear'd too in my turn.* But, as is obſerv'd, he was ſcarce as good as his word.

EVEN

EVEN the *Turks* ſtood in awe of *Cromwell*, and durſt not offend him. And all *Italy* trembled at his name, and ſeem'd under a pannick fear as long as he liv'd. When admiral *Blake* ſail'd into the *Mediterranean*, the city of *Rome*, and all the Pope's territories were greatly alarm'd; and the terror of the people was ſuch, that publick proceſſions were made, and the Hoſt was expoſed forty hours, to avert the wrath of heaven, and prevent *Blake*'s attacking the dominions of the church. And indeed we are told, that *Cromwell* uſed to ſay, *That his ſhips in the* Mediterranean *ſhould viſit* Civita Vecchia, *and the ſound of his cannon ſhould be heard in* Rome. But in the midſt of this power and grandeur, death put an end to all his high projects and daring deſigns.

His magnificent lying in ſtate.

I ſhall now finiſh this work with a particular account of the magnificent funeral of this great man. The corps, at leaſt in appearance, was on the 26th of *September* at night, privately remov'd from *Whitehall* in a mourning hearſe, attended by his domeſtick ſervants, to *Somerſet-houſe*. A few days after, his effigy was, with great ſtate and magnificence, expos'd openly, multitudes daily flocking to ſee the ſight, which appear'd in this order. The firſt room was wholly hung with black; at the upper end of which, was plac'd a cloth and chair of ſtate. In like manner were the ſecond and third rooms, all having ſcutcheons very thick upon the walls, and guards of partizans for people to paſs thro'. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black velvet, the ceiling being alſo cover'd with the ſame. Here lay the effigy under a noble canopy of black velvet, apparell'd in the moſt magnificent robes, lac'd with gold, and furr'd with ermines, with a ſcepter in one hand, and a globe in the other, and a ſword hanging by its ſide, and a rich cap on the head, ſuitable to the robes.

robes. Behind the head was placed a chair and cuſhion of tiſſu'd gold, in which lay an imperial crown, beſet with diamonds and other precious ſtones. The bed of ſtate on which the effigy lay, was cover'd with a large pall of black velvet, under which was a *Holland* ſheet, born up by ſix ſtools cover'd with cloth of gold. The bed was inclos'd with rails and balaſters, and, beſides ſolemn mourners, ſurrounded with banners, banrols, and all kinds of trophies of military honours. Within the rails ſtood eight ſilver candleſticks about five foot high, with white wax-tapers ſtanding in them, of three foot long. At each corner of the rails was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops lions and dragons, holding in their paws ſtreamers crowned. The effigy having for ſome weeks continued in this poſture, on the firſt of *November* was remov'd into the great hall, where with new ornaments and ceremony it was plac'd, ſtanding upon an aſcent under a cloth of ſtate, with the imperial crown upon the head. Four or five hundred candles ſet in flat ſhining candleſticks, were ſo plac'd round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave ſeem'd like the rays of the ſun; by all which his late Highneſs was repreſented as now in a ſtate of glory.

His pompous funeral.

HAVING remain'd thus till the 23d of *November*, the waxen effigy of the Protector, with the crown on his head, ſword by his ſide, globe and ſcepter in his hands, was plac'd in a ſtately open chariot, cover'd all over with black velvet, and drawn by ſix horſes cover'd with the ſame, both chariot and horſes being adorn'd with plumes and other ornaments. The ſtreets from *Somerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, were guarded on both ſides of the way by ſoldiers in new red coats and black buttons, with their enſigns wrapp'd in cypreſs. The proceſſion was in the following manner: Firſt

of

of all went a marſhal attended by his deputy, and thirteen more on horſe-back, to clear the way: After theſe follow'd the poor men of *Weſtminſter* by two and two, in mourning gowns and hoods; and next to them, the ſervants of thoſe perſons of quality that attended the funeral. Then came the Protector's late domeſtick ſervants, with his bargemen and watermen, follow'd by the ſervants of the Lord-mayor and Sheriffs of *London*; after whom follow'd the gentlemen attendants on foreign ambaſſadors and publick miniſters. After theſe march'd the poor knights of *Windſor* in gowns and hoods; then the clerks, ſecretaries, and officers of the army, admiralty, treaſury, navy, and exchequer; next, the commiſſioners of the exciſe, of the army, and committee of the navy. Then march'd the commiſſioners for approbation of preachers, and behind them, all the officers, meſſengers, and clerks belonging to the privy-council, and both houſes of parliament. Next in order follow'd his late Highneſs's phyſicians, the head officers of the army, the officers and aldermen of *London*, the maſters of *Chancery*, and the Protector's council at law; the judges of admiralty, judges in *Wales*, and maſter of requeſts; the barons of the exchequer, judges of both benches, and the Lord-mayor of *London*; the perſons ally'd in blood to the Protector, and the members of the late *Other Houſe*; the publick miniſters of foreign princes, the *Dutch* ambaſſador alone, having his train held up by four gentlemen; then the *Portugal* ambaſſador, and the *French* ambaſſador in like manner; the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and his Highneſs's privy-council. Theſe all mov'd in a ſolemn and pompous proceſſion, each diviſion or company being diſtinguiſh'd by drums, trumpets, banners, and led horſes.

horſes. Then came the chariot with the effigy, on each ſide of which were ſix banrols born by ſeveral perſons; and likewiſe ſeveral pieces of the Protector's armour, carry'd by eight officers of the army, attended by the heralds. Next went *garter*, principal king at arms, attended by a gentleman on each hand bare-headed; and then came the chief mourner: After which follow'd the horſe of honour, in very rich trappings embroider'd on crimſon velvet, and adorn'd with white, red, and yellow plumes, being led by the maſter of the horſe. The rear of this noble ſhew was brought up by the protector's guard of halberdiers, the warders of the *Tower*, and troop of horſe. The effigy being brought in this manner to the weſt end of the *Abby* church, was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, and carried through the church under a canopy of ſtate up to the eaſt end, where it was plac'd in a moſt magnificent ſtructure built for that purpoſe, to remain for a certain time expos'd to publick view.

The place of his burial uncertain.

AFTER all, as the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England obſerves in his notes, it remains a queſtion, where his body was really buried: It was, ſays he, in appearance, in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; ſome report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the *Thames*; but 'tis moſt probable that 'twas buried in *Naſeby Field*. This account, continues he, is given, as averr'd, and ready to be depos'd, if occaſion requir'd, by Mr. *Barkſtead*, ſon to *Barkſtead* the regicide, who was about fifteen years old at the time of *Cromwell*'s death: "That "the ſaid *Barkſtead* his father, being lieutenant of "the *Tower*, and a great confident of *Cromwell*'s, "did, among other ſuch confidents, in the time "of his illneſs, deſire to know where he would "be bury'd: To which the Protector anſwer'd, "*Where he had obtain'd the greateſt victory and*

"*glory*,

" *glory, and as nigh the ſpot as could be gueſs'd* " *where the heat of the action was,* viz. in the " field at *Naſeby, Com' Northampton.* Which ac- " cordingly was thus perform'd: At midnight, " ſoon after his death, the body (being firſt em- " balm'd and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in a " hearſe convey'd to the ſaid field, Mr. *Barkſtead* " himſelf attending, by order of his father, cloſe " to the hearſe: Being come to the field, they " found, about the midſt of it, a grave dug " about nine foot deep, with the green ſod " carefully laid on one ſide, and the mould on " the other; in which the coffin being put, the " grave was inſtantly fill'd up, and the green ſod " laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken that " the ſurplus mould ſhould be clean remov'd. " Soon after the like care was taken that the " field ſhould be entirely plough'd up, and it " was ſown three or four years ſucceſſively with " corn." Several other material circumſtances, ſays the fore-mention'd author, the ſaid Mr. *Barkſtead* (who now frequents *Richard*'s coffee-houſe within *Temple-Bar*) relates, too long to be here inſerted.

It is, I think, pretty certain, that *Oliver*'s corpſe was not really interr'd in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; and conſequently, that it was not his body that was afterwards taken up and hang'd at *Tyburn* for his: But whether this account of its being buried in *Naſeby Field*, or the other of its being ſunk in the *Thames*, is moſt probable, I cannot ſay. What is ſaid for the former, we have ſeen; and the other was related by a Gentlewoman who attended *Oliver* in his laſt ſickneſs, as we are told by the author of the *Hiſtory of* England *during the Reigns of the Royal Houſe of* Stuart. She told him, that the day after the Protector's death, it was conſulted how to diſpoſe of his corpſe; when it was concluded, that conſidering

the

the malice of the cavaliers, it was moſt certain they would inſult the body of their moſt dreadful enemy, if ever it ſhould be in their power; to prevent which, it was reſolv'd to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and ſink it in the deepeſt part of the *Thames*: which was undertaken and perform'd by two of his near relations, and ſome truſty ſoldiers, the following night.

A

POEM

Upon the DEATH of

OLIVER CROMWELL,

LORD-PROTECTOR:

Alluding to the STORM that happen'd about that Time.

By Mr. *WALLER.*

WE muſt reſign! heav'n his great ſoul does claim
In Storms as loud as his immortal fame:
His dying groans, his laſt breath, ſhake our iſle,
And trees uncut fall for his fun'ral pile:
About his palace their broad roots are toſt
Into the air: So *Romulus* was loſt:
New *Rome* in ſuch a tempeſt miſs'd her King,
And from obeying, fell to worſhipping.

On

ON *Oeta*'s top thus *Hercules* lay dead,
With ruin'd oaks and pines about him ſpread;
Thoſe his laſt fury from the mountain rent:
Our dying hero, from the continent
Raviſh'd whole towns, and forts from *Spaniards* reft,
As his laſt legacy to *Britain* left.

THE ocean, which ſo long our hopes confin'd,
Cou'd give no limits to his vaſter mind:
Our bounds enlargement was his lateſt toil;
Nor hath he left us pris'ners to our iſle:
Under the tropick is our language ſpoke,
And part of *Flanders* hath receiv'd our yoke.

FROM civil broils he did us diſengage;
Found nobler objects for our martial rage:
And with wiſe conduct, to his country ſhow'd
The ancient way of conquering abroad.

UNGRATEFUL then, if we no tears allow
To him that gave us peace and empire too!
Princes that fear'd him, grieve, concern'd to ſee
No pitch of glory from the grave is free.
Nature herſelf took notice of his death,
And, ſighing, ſwell'd the ſea with ſuch a breath,
That to remoteſt ſhores her billows roll'd,
Th'approaching fate of their great ruler told.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Some Account of the PROTECTOR's CHILDREN, and of the State of Affairs till the KING's RESTORATION.

THE Protector had three ſons, *Oliver*, *Richard* and *Henry*. *Oliver* died young. *Richard* married *Dorothy* eldeſt daughter of *Richard Major*, Eſq; of *Hurſly* in *Hampſhire*; where he liv'd a private life during the greateſt part of his father's government; but towards the latter end of it, he was ſent for by him to come to court, and made one of his privy council, and ſoon after was choſen by the univerſity of *Oxford* to be their chancellor, with which honour he was very ſolemnly inſtall'd at *Whitehall*. He was ſaid to be nominated by his father for his ſucceſſor, tho' the truth of it was very much queſtioned; and 'twas thought he never deſign'd him for it, having ſcarce made any ſtep towards training him up to it. However, upon his father's death, he was ſolemnly proclaim'd Protector all over *England*, *&c.* in the following form of words:

" WHEREAS it hath pleaſed the moſt wiſe God, " in his providence, to take out of this world the " moſt ſerene and renowned *Oliver*, late Lord " Protector of this commonwealth: And his High- " neſs having in his life-time, according to the " *Humble Petition and Advice*, declared and ap- " pointed the moſt noble and illuſtrious the Lord

" *Richard*,

" *Richard*, eldeſt ſon of his ſaid late Highneſs, to " ſucceed him in the government of theſe nations: " We therefore of the privy council, together " with the Lord-mayor, aldermen and citizens of " *London*, the officers of the army, and numbers " of other principal gentlemen, do now hereby, " with one full voice and conſent of tongue and " heart, publiſh and declare the ſaid noble and il- " luſtrious Lord *Richard* to be rightfully Prote- " ctor of this commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* " and *Ireland*, and the dominions and territories " thereunto belonging; to whom we acknowledge " all fidelity and conſtant obedience, according " to law, and the ſaid *Humble Petition and Advice*, " with all hearty and humble affections, beſeech- " ing the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bleſs " him with long life, and theſe nations with peace " and happineſs under his government."

RICHARD was congratulated hereupon by addreſſes from all parts of the three kingdoms, declaring their reſolutions to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes. But the officers of the army being divided among themſelves, and the republican party in particular labouring to undetermine him, and reſtore their beloved commonwealth, he found himſelf neceſſitated to call a Parliament. A Parliament was accordingly ſummoned, which *Richard* met on the 27th of *January*, with the ſame ſtate that the *Engliſh* Monarchs and his Father had done before him. They had not ſat long before great differences and contentions aroſe between them and the army; ſo that the officers being informed that ſome votes were paſs'd in oppoſition to their deſigns, immediately ſent *Fleetwood* and *Deſborough* to the Protector, to adviſe him forthwith to diſſolve the parliament. *Fleetwood* alledg'd, *That if this were not preſently done, the nation would certainly be involved in blood.* *Deſborough*, who was of a rougher temper, told him, *'Twas impoſ-*

ſible for him to keep both Parliament and Army his friends; and deſired him to chuſe which he would prefer: If he diſſolved the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his devotion; if he refus'd that, he believ'd the Army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. On the other hand, many members aſſur'd him, that the Parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: Some officers of the Army likewiſe, as *Ingoldſby*, *Whalley*, *Gough*, and *Howard*, offer'd to ſtand by him againſt thoſe who were called the *General Council* of the Army; and *Howard* in particular earneſtly preſs'd him to exert himſelf by ſome vigorous action, ſuch as ſupported his father's authority to the laſt: *You are* Cromwell's *ſon*, ſaid he, *ſhew yourſelf worthy of that name: This buſineſs requires a bold ſtroke, ſupported by a good hand; do not ſuffer yourſelf to be daunted, and my head ſhall anſwer for the conſequence.* Fleetwood, Lambert, Deſborough, *and* Vane, *are the contrivers of this; I will rid you of them; do but ſtand by me, and ſecond my zeal with your name.* *Richard* anſwer'd, *That he did not love blood*; and being a man of an irreſolute temper, was at laſt prevail'd on by the oppoſite party to diſſolve the Parliament.

HAVING got rid of the Parliament, the council of officers were for laying *Richard* aſide too; and ſo they reſtor'd the remnant of the Long-Parliament, which *Oliver* had ejected, to their ſeats again; and *Richard*, after a reign of about ſeven months and twenty days, return'd to his former private life. When he was quitting his palace of *Whitehall*, he order'd his ſervants to be very careful of two old trunks which ſtood in his wardrobe. The men wonder'd at this; and one of his friends hearing him enquire very earneſtly after them, aſk'd him what was in them that made him ſo much concern'd about them? *Why, no leſs*, ſaid Richard, *than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of* England;

England; meaning the numberleſs addreſſes that were preſented to him.

THE Long Parliament having ſat about five months, were again put down by the ambitious *Lambert*; and about three months after were again reſtor'd, by means of the ſoldiers revolting from their leaders, and declaring for the Parliament, and the interpoſition of general *Monk*, who now march'd out of *Scotland*, and finding the ſpirit of the people generally run that way, reſtor'd the ſecluded members alſo to their ſeats again. This made ſuch an alteration in this aſſembly, that they ſoon diſſolv'd themſelves, having order'd a new Parliament to be ſummon'd; which Parliament meeting on *April* 25, 1660, in about a month's time brought in the KING.

THE Lord *Clarendon* tells the following ſtory of *Richard Cromwell:* That ſoon after the King's reſtoration, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring into *France*; and having continu'd ſome years in obſcurity at *Paris*, upon the firſt rumour of a war like to break out between *England* and *France*, he thought fit to leave that kingdom, and remove to *Geneva*. Taking his journey thither by *Bourdeaux*, and thro' the province of *Languedoc*, he went thro' *Pezenas*, a town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, then Governor of *Languedoc*, who made his reſidence there. Staying ſome time in this place, he happen'd to meet with an old acquaintance of his father's, and his party; who told him, *That the Prince of* Conti *expected all ſtrangers who came to that town to wait on him, and that he treated all, particularly the* Engliſh, *with great civility; that he need not be known, but that himſelf would inform the Prince that another* Engliſh *gentleman was paſſing thro' the town, who would be glad to have the honour of kiſſing his hand.* The Prince, as his manner was, receiv'd him very civilly; and began to diſcourſe with him about the *Engliſh* affairs, aſking

ſeveral

ſeveral queſtions about the King, and whether all quietly ſubmitted to his government; and in the end ſaid, *Well, that* Oliver, *tho' he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave man, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but that* Richard, *that coxcomb and poltron, was ſurely the baſeſt fellow alive; what is become of that fool? How was it poſſible he could be ſuch a ſot?* He anſwer'd, *That he was betray'd by thoſe he moſt truſted, and who had been moſt obliged by his father*; and ſo having no great pleaſure of his viſit, ſoon took his leave, and the next morning left the town. And about two days after, the Prince came to know that it was *Richard* himſelf, whom he had talk'd to after that manner. *Richard* ſome years before the death of King *Charles* II. return'd to *England*; and having lived to a great age, as a remarkable example of the ſecurity of innocence, and the inſtability of human greatneſs, he died at *Cheſhunt* in *Hertfordſhire*, in the year 1712.

OLIVER's third ſon, *Henry*, married *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter of Sir *Francis Ruſſel* of *Chippenham* in *Cambridgſhire*, and was by his father made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; where his deportment rendered him very popular, and he managed the government with ſo much diſcretion, that in a ſmall time he brought that diſorder'd nation into the moſt hopeful condition of a flouriſhing ſtate: But being call'd away by the Long Parliament, upon his brother's ſubmiſſion, he would not offer to reſiſt, but quietly laid down his charge. And thus ended the majeſty and glory of the *Cromwell* family, which had made, not only its own, but all neighbouring nations to tremble.

THE Protector had four daughters, *Bridget*, *Elizabeth*, *Mary*, and *Frances*. *Bridget* was married firſt to *Henry Ireton*, whom *Cromwell* left his deputy in *Ireland*, and of whom ſo much has been ſaid in the former part of this hiſtory, and he dying,

ing, ſhe was afterwards married to lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*. *Elizabeth* was married to Mr. *John Cleypole*, and dy'd a little before her father: *Whitelock* ſays ſhe was a lady of excellent parts, dear to her parents, civil to all perſons, and courteous and friendly to all gentlemen of her acquaintance; and that her death did much grieve her father. *Mary*, his third daughter was married to *Thomas* lord viſcount *Fauconberg*, afterwards created Earl by King *William*: She had the character of a wiſe and worthy woman, and was thought more likely to have maintain'd the poſt than either of her brothers; whence it is commonly ſaid, *That thoſe who wore breeches, deſerved Petticoats better; but if thoſe in Petticoats* (meaning her) *had been in breeches, they would have held faſter*. *Frances*, the youngeſt daughter, was married firſt to Mr. *Robert Rich*, grandſon and heir of the Earl of *Warwick*; and afterwards to Sir *John Ruſſel* of *Chippenham* in *Cambridgſhire*: She was alſo a very worthy perſon. 'Tis of her that the following ſtory is told, by the author of the *Hiſtory of* England *during the reign of the Royal Houſe of* Stuart:

THAT Mr. *Jeremy White*, one of *Oliver*'s domeſtick chaplains, a ſprightly man, and a top wit of his court, made his addreſſes to the ſaid lady *Frances*, who did not much diſencourage him. But *Cromwell* being told of it, obliged the perſon who told him to be upon the watch; who hunting *Jerry White*, as he was commonly called, to the lady's chamber, ran immediately to tell the Protector of it. *Oliver* in a rage haſtening thither, found *Jerry* on his knees kiſſing the lady's hand, or having juſt kiſs'd it; and aſk'd him what was the meaning of that poſture before his daughter *Frank? White*, with much preſence of mind, ſaid, *May it pleaſe your Highneſs, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying*

praying her ladyſhip to intercede for me. The Protector turning to the young woman, ſaid, *What's the meaning of this, huſſy? Why do you refuſe the honour Mr.* White *would do you? He is my friend, and I expect you ſhould treat him as ſuch.* My lady's woman deſiring nothing more, anſwer'd, *If Mr.* White *intends me that honour, I ſhall not be againſt him. Say'ſt thou ſo,* reply'd *Cromwell, call* Goodwin; *this buſineſs ſhall be done preſently, before I go out of the room. Jerry* being gone too far to go back, they were married, and the Protector gave the young woman 500 *l.* for her portion; which, with what ſhe had ſav'd before, made Mr. *White* eaſy in his circumſtances, but in one thing, which was, that he never loved his wife, nor ſhe him, tho' they lived together near fifty years afterwards. The abovementioned author ſays he knew them both, and heard this ſtory told when Mrs. *White* was by, who did not contradict it, but acknowledg'd there was *ſomething in it.*

FINIS.

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